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The origins and significance of the Toronto Technical School, 1891--1904 (Ontario)

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The Origins and Significance of the Toronto Technical School, 1891 - 1904

by

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ABSTRACT

As the first Technical School in Ontario, the Toronto Technical School played a role that directly influenced provincial legislation which resulted in the formal recognition, public funding, and eventually, the inclusion of technical education in the public school system. A well organized local support network for technical education, as well as a highly supportive local newspaper, created an environment suitable for educational change that would serve as a model for the province of Ontario. Once officially included into the public school system, the roles of many of the original supporters of the Toronto Technical School were no longer needed. However, remnants of their initial efforts are still evident in our educational structures today in the form of both integrated technical programs within a high school and individual technical high schools. Although formally amalgamated in 1904, distinct schools within the public school system remain. The initial dream of a school dedicated primarily to technical education, as was the Toronto Technical School, still exists today, serving as a reminder of the significance of the Toronto Technical School.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

At first glance the Central Technical School in Toronto appears to be no different than any other secondary school you might see in Ontario. A closer look, however, reveals that this school is far from ordinary. As you approach the wide fan of stairs that lead to the front doors of the school, the details of the ornate archway become clear. There are three carvings that immediately grab your attention. At either side of the archway sit two small figures at the top of two pillars. The figure to the right wears a cap and gown similar to that of a graduate and is writing on a tablet. The figure to the left holds a chisel and hammer for sculpting stone. Both figures seem to represent a dichotomy of mental skills learned in traditional academic education and physical skills that are learned in technical education. The use of these two symbolic figures are understandable for a technical secondary school. The largest carving that is situated atop the center of the archway is more puzzling. It is the city of Toronto's coat of arms. Usually the city coat of arms is reserved for use only on municipal buildings. Why is the Toronto Coat of Arms displayed centrally at the entrance of this provincially governed public secondary school? The answer is in the history of this technical school. Initially called the Toronto Technical School, it was the first technical school in Canada and was initially established and maintained by the city of Toronto. From 1891 to 1904 the city of Toronto took on the direct responsibility of offering technical education to meet the local needs of citizens. During the school's first decade, the Toronto Technical School was a pioneering force that left its mark on public education. This research is the story of the origins and

significance of the Toronto Technical School.

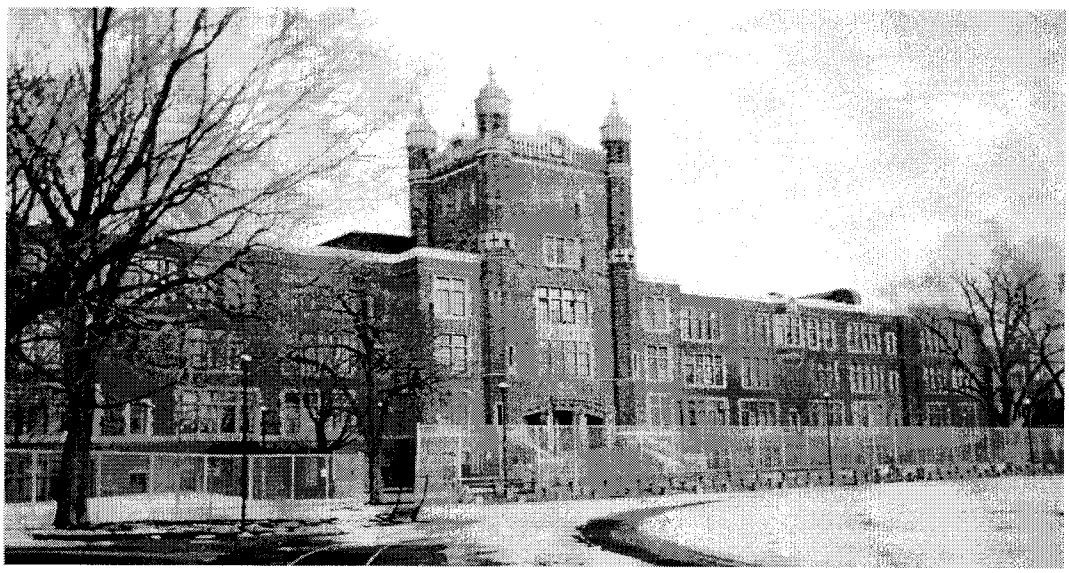

Figure 1: Central Technical School. Toronto, Ontario, Canada 2005 (Photo taken by author)

Figure 2: The Front Entrance to Central Technical School. Toronto, Ontario, Canada 2005 (Photo taken by author)

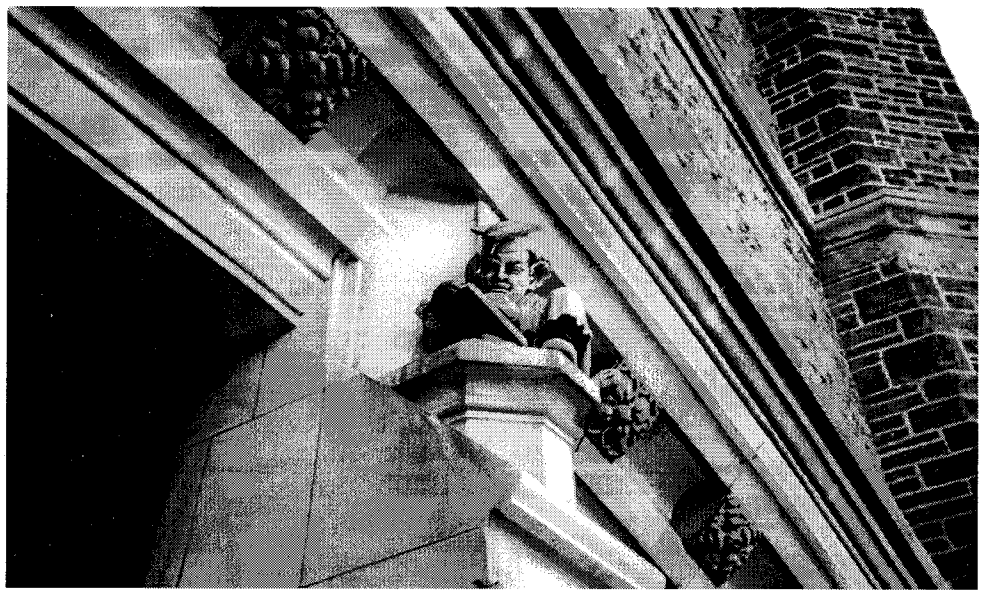

Figure 3: Right side of the archway over the front doors of Central Technical School. Toronto, Ontario, Canada 2005 (Photo taken by author)

Figure 4: Left side of the archway over the front doors of Central Technical School. Toronto, Ontario, Canada 2005 (Photo taken by author)

General Statement of the Problem

There are many factors that have influenced the introduction of technical education in Ontario, including overall political climate, the existence of social reform movements, the persistence of gender stereotypes and class distinctions, underlying economic and technological changes, ongoing societal changes, and local public demand and support. A case study of the London Technical High School indicates that, to varying degrees, most of these influences were in place in that Ontario city during the first third of the twentieth century, when a new technical school was being established[1]. However, the initial effort to establish a technical school in this province occurred in Toronto[2]. While several scholars have mentioned it in passing, no detailed analysis of the local initiative to establish Ontario's first technical high school has been carried out to date. This void in our educational history leaves pressing questions. Firstly, how and why was this innovative educational change promoted? In other words, what factors influenced the movement to establish a special school dedicated to technical education in Toronto? Secondly, how did the establishment of the Toronto Technical School impact the evolution of technical education in Ontario? These questions will be answered, by reconstructing and analyzing the actions that initiated, established, and maintained the Toronto Technical School, with a focus on the years 1891 - 1904.

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[1]See I.F. Goodson and I.R. Dowbiggan, Vocational education and school reform: The case of the London (Canada) Technical School, 1900-1930. *History of Education Review*, 20 (1991) 39-60.

[2]See R. Stamp, *The campaign for technical education in Ontario, 1876-1914.* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1970), 75.

Review of Literature

The history of technical education in Ontario is represented by a small but growing body of literature. In the following paragraphs I will summarize this body of literature, focusing on key authors. For each contribution to this body of literature, I will outline the main points and conclusion, noting in particular, specific details or questions relevant to the present study. Next, a summary will be provided indicating what this body of literature tells us about the Toronto Technical School in the context of school reforms of the late 19th century in Ontario.

Beginning in 1970, Robert Stamp initiated this body of writing with his PhD dissertation that was completed at the University of Western Ontario. This work was entitled "The campaign for technical education in Ontario, 1876 - 1914". This study was a comprehensive and chronological look at the economic and political factors that influenced the development of technical education in Ontario. From this work the reader is able to gain an understanding of the social and political context from which technical education emerged. In 1876, Ontario was largely comprised of rural communities based in agriculture, with a traditional school system that was geared to knowledge and facts. This school system was, at that time, world renowned, winning awards at international exhibitions year after year[3]. This impressive reputation contributed to a lack of motivation to change any part of a system that was highly regarded as exemplary. On the other hand, there

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[3]Ontario's "ladder concept" school system was praised at many international exhibits including the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 and the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (p.82).

were fundamental economic changes occurring which provided new challenges, but also new opportunities for educational change. Stamp explains that the 1880's marked the decline of the local market economy, and the rise of large scale manufacturing, which placed demands on education, particularly in urban areas like Toronto[4]. Large scale manufacturing also influenced the emergence of organized labour groups such as the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC). The TLC was beginning to organize its goals for change around how the economy was affecting workers[5]. These effects included the decline of apprenticeship and consequently the need for alternative training such as formal technical education in a school setting[6]. Political changes were occurring also. One such change was the promotion of George W. Ross, who had been the minister of education since 1872, to the post of Premier of Ontario in 1899. As a previous teacher himself, George W. Ross had an interest in reform at the secondary school level resulting in many changes to the high school curriculum. At the same time, his pride in Ontario's existing school system sometimes caused him to defend the status quo. All of these factors came together in the late 19th century, to create a more receptive political environment for state-sponsored technical education[7].

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[4]See R. Stamp, 1970, 58-59.

[5]D.J. O'Donoghue and Robert Glocking are noted as leading spokespersons for technical education for TLC (they also serve on the Toronto Technical School Board according to my primary sources)

[6]See R. Stamp 1970, 64-65.

[7]See: Burr, Christina. *Spreading the Light: Work and Labour Reform in Late-Nineteenth Century Toronto.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1999. 98-125. This work outlines in detail how apprenticeship in particular was changing at this time for printers due to changing ideals in craftsmanship as well as urbanization.

Manual training was introduced first in some of Ontario's elementary schools, and then the principle of technical education was approved for secondary schools soon after. Stamp cited Toronto as being the initial location where concrete actions to establish a technical school began[8]. This action resulted in the Toronto Technical School which initially began offering night courses in 1891.

In 1972 Stamp co-authored a book with R.D. Heyman and R.F. Lawson called "Studies in Educational Change". This book presented 3 case studies of educational change. One of the case studies, by Stamp, looked at Ontario in the late 19th century. Drawing upon his doctoral research, he analyzed the relationship between education, industrialization, capitalists and organized labour groups. In this book, the effects of industrialization were analyzed in terms of how they influenced the treatment of employees and how organized labour groups dealt with changes like the deterioration of the apprenticeship system. This work described Toronto as the location where initial action was taken to utilize education to help workers gain the skills they needed to survive and thrive in an industrialized world[9]. Specifically, the Toronto board of trade was mentioned as being in a strong position to work for educational change[10]. Stamp provided a brief outline of the beginning of the Toronto Technical School in 1891 as an evening school, soon growing to a full fledged high school by 1904, and

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[8]See R. Stamp, 1970, 75.

[9]See R. Stamp, 1972, 57.

[10]See R. Stamp, 1972, 61.

eventually becoming one of Toronto's largest high schools by 1908.

T.R. Morrison in 1974, brought a critical lens to this body of literature[11]. Morrison conducted an analysis of a series of discussions that preceded the establishment of some of the first industrial schools in Ontario, and related expertise of the social reform movements that occurred in the late 19th century, to this educational initiative. Morrison concluded that educational changes that occurred at this time were influenced by the so-called progressive reformers of the day, but that the benefits of reform did not go to the working class. In Morrison's view, the real motivation for the educational changes that were being promoted was to insure the continuation of a social class system of inequality and discrimination. To argue this point, Morrison quoted passages from promotional documents of industrial and manual training. One such quote stated that, "such training will fit them to become industrious members of the community, instead of passing from vagrancy and incipient vice into the ranks of the depraved and criminal class"[12]. Morrison used examples taken from more recent sources, to indicate that even in the presence of other social support networks in society, industrial schools were still being used to control those in society who were deemed to be out of control. In this example, Morrison looked at probability statistics that described how likely a child was to attend a vocational school based solely on the occupation of their parent(s). There was a strong negative

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[11]T. R. Morrison. Reform as social tracking: The case of industrial education in Ontario, 1870-1900, *The Journal of Educational Thought* 8, 2, (August 1974), 87-110.

[12]See T.R. Morrison, 1974, 90.

correlation between status of parent occupation and likelihood that their child would attend a vocational or technical highschool. In other words, the children of doctors and lawyers rarely, if ever, attended vocational schools, whereas the children of parents on welfare were very likely to attend a vocational school[13]. From this evidence, Morrison concluded that industrial education, manual training, vocational schools and other school-based technical programs have served to "help keep the poor kids, working class kids, at the bottom of the society, where their parents have been" and where others in power decide they should be[14].

Morrison argued that the pressure for technical education emerged initially within social reform movements, and eventually gave rise to industrial schools and manual training. Organized labour groups were suspicious of this type of schooling, suggesting that it might simply be a way to control strife between capital and labour. The creation and promotion of technical education, particularly the Toronto Technical School, was a direct reaction against middle class demands for practical education with purposes of social control. Morrison suspected that this is why funding and local school board involvement was slow to support the Toronto Technical School. This argument was supported by an address made by Robert Glocking at the 1888 Trades and Labor Congress Convention. Glocking stated at this convention that, "manual training would trap

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[13]See T.R. Morrison, 1974, 109-110.

[14]See T.R. Morrison, 1974, 110.

children of the working classes by denying them the type of education which would increase their chances for upward mobility"[15]. Morrison's conclusions contrast sharply with those reached by Stamp, and provide a significant reason for consulting available primary sources concerning the motivations of the early supporters of the Toronto Technical School.

In *Canadian Library Journal* in 1981, two articles were published on the Ontario Mechanics' Institutes. The first article, entitled "Anatomy of Failure: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1835 - 1895" was written by Jim Blanchard[16]. The second article, by John A. Wiseman, was entitled, "Phoenix in Flight: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1880 - 1920"[17]. Both of these articles made note of the failure of these institutes as technical schools, and highlighted their success as libraries. What is useful about these articles to the present study is the reasons that were offered as to why technical classes failed in these institutes. Blanchard proposes that the free lending library was wanted and needed by the people who were locally served by the institutes. The night classes on the other hand, which were promoted by the government, with moralistic intentions, did not meet the needs of the membership's diversity. Few people who used the institutes were mechanics, as defined - a skilled workman concerned with the making and use of machines. It is argued that the government, which was highly committed to education at the time, desired to use industry-related courses, as a vehicle for

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[15]See Trades and Labour Council (TLC) proceedings in T.R. Morrison, 1974, 106.

[16]Canadian Library Journal, (December 1981), 393-398.

[17]Canadian Library Journal, (December 1981),401-405.

moral and religious direction to the working class, who were steadily growing in power and size in urban areas. It was intended that the institutes would create "a better worker, and a more tractable citizen"[18]. Blanchard concluded that the educational elements of the Mechanics' Institutes were intended to serve as "bulwarks against revolution and disorder"[19]. As supporting evidence he cited one institute member named Richard Lewis, from Toronto, who in 1876 wrote that Mechanics' Institutes would "banish ignorance which leads lower orders to find their excitement and relief to their passions in lawless disorder, intemperance and even violence"[20]. A positive example cited, and one particularly relevant to the present study, was that of Daniel O'Donoghue, who received some of his early education at the institute in Ottawa. O'Donoghue, who was a printer at the time, became the first MPP elected on a labour platform. According to my primary sources, there was also a D.J. O'Donoghue (probably the same person) who was instrumental in promoting the Toronto Technical School as a representative of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council.

The second article published was by John Wiseman, who argued that the Mechanics' Institutes represented the beginning of a public library movement. The dual service of loaning books, as well as offering technical education on moral grounds, was evidence that society looked to libraries and education as a "panacea for society's ills". On the one hand, these institutes were intended as

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[18]See J. Blanchard, 1981, 393.

[19]See J. Blanchard, 1981, 393.

[20]See J. Blanchard, 1981, 393.

moralistic guidance for the masses, but also as a "temple of democracy". These institutes functioned as a government funded service focused on one specific type of education, to one exclusive population of citizens, and failed. In a time when the idea of free public education was becoming popular, an institution funded by taxpayers to educate a select group of people was criticized. One example provided is from a certain John George Bourinot who was quoted as saying that, "it was wrong to tax the general public so that an idle few could indulge themselves in the harmful and dissipating practice of novel reading"[21]. This could explain the reality of locally collected statistics that indicated a more general membership used the library facilities, with few if any scientific or technical classes actually offered. Wiseman noted that the Mechanics Institutes evolved into a system of public libraries, while the government looked elsewhere to further the goal of technical education. Taken together, the papers by Blanchard and Wiseman point out the context for new departures in government policy in this area during the late nineteenth century. The so-called Mechanic's Institutes had actually attracted a more middle-class clientelle. New policies were needed to meet the educational needs of the genuine working class.

In 1982, Stamp authored another book entitled "The Schools of Ontario, 1876 - 1976"[22]. Although, as indicated by the title, this book was broader in scope, Stamp's expertise regarding technical education in Ontario was illustrated

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[21]See J. Wiseman, 1981, 401.

[22]R. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976.* Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press 1982.

once again and yet was analyzed from a different perspective. In this book Stamp placed the campaign for technical education within the broader changes occurring called "the New Education Movement". The new education movement was described as being a process of development for the whole child, with not only intellectual goals but moral and physical ones as well. The new education movement in Canada was influenced by the educational philosophies that were taking hold in Europe, where reformers like Johann Pestalozzi, and Friedrich Froebel were well known. In Canada, the various changes that occurred in the new education movement included the introduction of kindergartens, supervised playgrounds, school dental inspections, manual training and domestic science, agricultural and technical education. This book was an important turning point in his research on technical education in Ontario because it began to critically analyze the motivations behind the new education movement. For the first time Stamp began to use words like "social control" in his analysis of why educational change occurred[23]. According to Stamp's analysis, even the harshest critics saw vocational and technical education as having promise for the future. Strong supporters of technical education, like the Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Manufacturers Association, saw positive potential in technical education for the working class. These organizations wanted upward mobility for the students and commercial supremacy for the country. The platform of upward mobility helped to set technical education apart from other aspects of the

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[23]See R. Stamp, 1982, 73.

movement and "meant a redefinition of the concept of equality of educational opportunity"[24]. Under the old meaning of "equality of educational opportunity" all children had access to the same schooling. According to the promoters of technical education, equality of opportunity meant that the diversity of students in the schools would be served by an equally diverse curriculum. To Stamp, this meant the following:

> *Now the school was to function less as the great equalizer and more as the great selector, selecting the most talented for the higher level jobs, and selecting from the rest those destined for office and factory employment. In the past, much of this sorting process had taken place after young people left school; now the school would predetermine those choices. The academic high school would provide the captains and the generals for twentieth-century society, while the vocational courses would prepare the infantry of troops for the industrial army*[25].

From this somber closing note on the early campaigns for technical education, it is understood that Stamp was speaking of the fundamental change that this era in our educational history brought about. No matter how much our schools and school policies change to adapt to the changing needs of the people they are intended to serve, one expectation of schools will never be realized - schools alone can never totally correct familial, social, and societal problems. They are a product of society that has the ability to reinforce existing social structures or challenge them. Stamp's closing comments point to the fact that schools, as a result of the new educational movement, were not only given more

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[24]See R. Stamp, 1982, 83-84.

[25]See R. Stamp, 1982, 84.

public responsibility, but also more social power.

This research leaves me with some questions for the current study. Did the Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Trades and Labor Council acknowledge this dilemma of responsibility and power of the school system when trying to establish the Toronto Technical School? If so, how was it addressed? These are pressing questions for the present study, knowing that the growing power of organized labour which supported the Toronto Technical School would be hesitant to relinquish any power to government institutions with middle class associations. Was this a source of conflict for labour in the earliest efforts to establish technical education?

Critical analysis of curriculum reform was continued with the work of M. Danylewycz, N. Fahmy-Eid and N. Thivierge in 1984[26]. In this research entitled, "Domestic Science in Ontario, 1900 -1940", the authors propose that not only did domestic science curriculum reinforce gender stereotypes, it actually served as an added hurdle to those girls beginning to break through the barriers of traditional academic curriculum. On an even darker note, the authors propose that a possible motivation that middle class social reformers had in promoting domestic science was to improve the quality of domestic labour. The results of social reform and curriculum, whether intended or not, were initiated by the promoters of domestic science who were mostly middle class women. These

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[26]M. Danylewycz., N. Fahmy-Eid & N. Thivierge. "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940," *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History,* ed. J. Donald Wilson, 94-119. Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia. 1984.

women believed that industrialization had negative effects on the home. By implementing domestic science in the school system, women would be better equipped to handle the problems they faced. In addition, with a working knowledge of the scientific principles that apply to domestic duties, the status of traditional female skills would be improved. According to this research, even the best outcome of domestic science, that being the new university programs based on domestic science, still served to further a sexual division of labour. The authors conclude that, "The participation of university certified home-makers in the workforce merely widened the range of activity opened to women within their prescribed sphere"[27]. The intentions behind domestic science are important to keep in mind; according to these researchers they resulted in, "a redefinition of housework, one which stressed the psychological and intellectual, as opposed to the manual character of women's work"[28].

These findings are of interest to the present study. The Toronto Technical School did offer domestic science courses, and in doing so catered mostly to working class girls. It will be of interest to this body of literature to consider the intentions behind the local initiatives of the Toronto Technical School and consider whether or not they fit into the patterns indicated by Danylewycz, Fahmy-Eid, and Thivierge. As indicated in the research that follows, there was some evidence to suggest that the promoters of the Toronto Technical School

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[27]See M. Danylewycz., N. Fahmy-Eid & N. Thivierge, 1984, 105.

[28]See M. Danylewycz., N. Fahmy-Eid & N. Thivierge, 1984, 107.

stood against social reform content in curriculum directed toward the working classes, and supported increasing the status of the worker through scientific training. Did the promoters of the Toronto Technical School wish to redefine domestic work?

In 1991, I.F. Goodson and I.R. Dowbiggan offer some explanation of why technical education was introduced, using an Ontario-based case study, in their article, "Vocational education and school reform: the case of the London (Canada) Technical School, 1900 - 1930" which appeared in the journal, *History of Education Review*[29]. First of all, it needs to be pointed out that Goodson and Dowbiggan intended to put previous theories and explanations of technical education to the test, by conducting a case study. As they pointed out, "There are a number of theories which seek to explain the evolution of the vocational movement. What historians of vocational education lack at this time are case-studies of specific schools or school bureaucracies". The case study of the London Technical School was a detailed look at the debates and struggles for and against technical education in one city in Ontario. Goodson and Dowbiggan found that there was considerable resistance to establishing a technical school from both the board of education, and the London Free Press, and as a result, public opinion was negatively affected. The social and political context in London was conservative, which influenced the strategy used by the promoters of technical education. Technical education was advocated as a way to solve the

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[29]I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, Vocational Education and School Reform: the case of the London (Canada) Technical School, 1900-1930. *History of Education Review,* 20, (1991), 39-60.

problem of overcrowding in London schools, in a cost-efficient way. Once established, the continual battle to defend the value and worth of technical education was a struggle for the promoters of this type of education. As an example of the difficulty faced, a front page article in the newspaper is cited with the headlines, "City pays $300 per student"[30], in an effort to discredit arguments of cost efficiency. When efforts were made to attract academically stronger students to the technical school, the board of education placed vocational guidance counselors in schools for the purpose of "steering more indolent collegiate students towards the technical school"[31]. Enrollment statistics demonstrate the results of this effort, as in 1927, when 20 percent of all technical students did not have their high school entrance qualifications. By 1931, this figure rose to 45 percent. In the early 20th century, The London Technical School served to reinforce class distinctions and barriers. It would seem, then, that in the context of an elite, conservative ruling class, technical education was acceptable as long as "it was low-status, cost very little, and helped to relieve collegiate overcrowding"[32]. Goodson and Dowbiggan are left wondering about the "possibility that events there were not unique and may have been repeated in other municipalities in Ontario, Canada". The present study would contribute to answering this question. It would also serve as an interesting comparison, owing

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[30]See I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, 1991, 49.

[31]See I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, 1991, 55.

[32]See I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, 1991, 55.

to differences in the context. In Toronto during the time period in question, the population was more diverse, there was a stronger labour presence, and the major newspaper was labour friendly and highly supportive of technical education.

In 1993, C.J. Anstead and I.F. Goodson challenged the notions of social control with a look at student experiences at a London Ontario technical school[33]. In their analysis "Structure and Mediation: Glimpses of Everyday Life at the London Technical and Commercial High School, 1920 - 1940", based on interviews with 24 students, and 2 teachers, they reveal how students participated in, and challenged the structures that influenced their everyday experiences at school. Throughout the reconstruction of daily life at The London Technical High School there were many examples of formal structures that were imposed on students, with student-created structures that allowed for some student autonomy. One such example was the highly structured timetable. The ex-students reported that there was little choice of courses. Students took the prescribed courses necessary for the program and year that they were in. However, Glen Pruss (a technical student) found a way around having to attend his French class. After a heated argument with the French teacher, Glen complained to the principal that if he was left in that room, he would continue to make trouble because he was unable to understand a French teacher with a Dublin accent. The principal removed Glen from the class. From that point on,

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[33]C.J.Anstead & I. F. Goodson, "Structure and Mediation: Glimpses of everyday life at the London Technical and Commercial High School, 1920-1940." *American Journal of Education 102*, (1993), 55-79.

making trouble and complaining about the French teacher's accent became the accepted way for many other students to avoid this particular class[34]. Other examples included smoking in the washrooms and boiler rooms, and practical jokes that would target classroom "squealers". On a more positive note, building, fixing and repairing things for the school and teachers was also mentioned. Students were active participants in the daily structures of their classrooms and in their school. Particularly for students in the technical schools, it is evident that the more technical skill a student gained, the more formal access they had to structuring their daily life at school. Students would often act as secretaries, auto mechanics, carpenters, and electricians for the school. Even new and unskilled students found creative ways to influence the school structures as mentioned. This research brought a new perspective to pre-existing information about social control and technical education. It also underlines the need for future distinctions in case studies about access to formal power, as opposed to participation and influence.

In 1995, O.P. Rafferty completed a PhD dissertation called "Apprenticeship's legacy: The social and educational goals of technical education in Ontario, 1860-1911"[35]. This research contained some of the most detailed and in-depth information about the Toronto Technical School available in this body of literature to date. Technical education interested Rafferty because the very idea

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[34]See C.J.Anstead & I. F. Goodson, 1993, 71.

[35]O.P. Rafferty. Apprenticeship's Legacy: The Social and Educational Goals of Technical Education in Ontario, 1860-1911. (Doctoral dissertation, McMaster University, Canada, 1995).

of technical education was apprenticeship's enduring legacy, and therefore the topic of this research. Rafferty explained that technical education in the last few decades of the nineteenth century was developing on the margins of education. Technical education at this time took the form of art schools, mechanic institutes, and the Toronto Technical School. At the same time, education through apprenticeship was fast dying out. Apprenticeship according to Rafferty offered two important things to a student. It was a "repository of ancient tradition, and a vehicle for the development of skills and preparation for trades"[36]. In other words, apprenticeship served both as a means of passing on culture and also for teaching practical skills. Technical education would spark debate over the place of both culture and utility in educational reforms. In earlier efforts to establish technical education, a concerted effort was made to maintain the two fundamental ingredients of apprenticeship in technical education. This was apparent in documents from James (Jimmy) Simpson, who proposed that "service to humanity" was something schools needed to teach. Also, James Robertson promoted the idea that technical education would help students convert " selfishness into public service". Rafferty concluded that the ethic of "useful service" was lost in the modern factory of mass production. After 1911, technical and vocational programs promoted the need for workers to "fit in" to "existing jobs" with standardized skills to do those specific jobs, by offering them the chance to earn formal credentials. After this point, technical education lost

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[36]See Rafferty, 1995, 419.

one of the fundamental ingredients passed on from the apprenticeship system - culture. This meant that the "secrets of trades" were also lost. This is an important point because Rafferty holds that the "secrets of a trade" were what gave it status, and made it exclusive and elite. Once the culture of the industrial craftsman was lost in technical education, there was a distrust regarding the motives of the promoters of technical education. Rafferty used a powerful example of this distrust from a resolution passed at a meeting of the Socialist Party of Canada, Toronto Local No.24 in 1910:

> *Whereas modern production [is] resting upon the physical sciences, technical education would make the workers more proficient wage slaves...technical education would have the same effect on the working class as labor-saving machinery...giving an ever increasing power of the capitalist class over the working class. Therefore – the benefits accruing from a technically educated working class would be reaped by the capitalists, and instead of tending to raise the workers in social scale, it would be the means of their further degradation...*[37].

Rafferty identified the Toronto Technical School as being the stepping stone to this change because the school emphasized science over art[38]. Education that was of practical use for industry and workers was a turning point in the campaign for technical education because it legitimized public investment. After 1911 technical education grew ever more formal and standardized. One example was the passing of the Apprenticeship Act in 1928, which more formally linked specific courses and programs with specific trades and occupations. This

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[37]See Conner in Rafferty, 1995, 425.

[38]See Rafferty, 1995, 427-428.

organization of physical skill in relation to specific jobs was totally absent from the craftsman's culture that was such a fundamental part of traditional apprenticeship.

The findings in Rafferty's research constitute yet a different perspective on the role of the Toronto Technical School in the general efforts to establish technical education from all others to date. According to this research, because the Toronto Technical School emphasized science in its curriculum over art, it began the first crucial step away from the traditional apprenticeship's use of craft culture in education. This observation must be considered in the present study. Why was science emphasized in the Toronto Technical School? What did the promoters hope to achieve by emphasizing science? Were those hopes realized?

Another recent contribution to this body of literature was conducted by H. Smaller in 2003[39]. In this analysis, theoretical research on the history of vocational education has been summarized[40]. In doing this, Smaller investigated the history of vocational education, in order to understand, "Why [there] were vocational programs developed and promoted in the state school system of Canada and other nations?" Smaller found that "there was no one overarching truth"[41], but previous historical research had indicated three main reasons why

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[39]H. Smaller, "Vocational Education in Ontario Secondary Schools," *Integrating School and Workplace Learning in Canada: Principles and Practices of Alternation Education and Training,* ed. Hans G. Schuetze and Robert Sweet, 95-134. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003.

[40]A. Benavot, "The Rise and Decline of Vocational Education". Sociology of Education, 56. 1983, 2.

[41]See H. Smaller, 2003, 100.

vocational schooling was implemented.

1) Industry demands skilled workers, due to the expense involved in training.

2) Vocational education served as a socializing agent for immigrants and the working class.

3) Vocational education provided equal opportunities for children who would otherwise not be successful or drawn to secondary education at all.

Smaller explained that these hypotheses could help to understand not only the past but also the present issues that face vocational education as well as what the future may hold. This research is helpful to the present study because, as noted in previous literature, the notion of equal opportunity in education has changed. Smaller has put this change into a more philosophical context. Smaller reviewed discussions that occurred at the time regarding how vocational and technical education would narrow a student's future opportunities at the expense of more humanistic goals. This analysis adds yet another dimension to understanding the nature of the educational changes that took place[42].

Theoretical Considerations

There are some general theoretical themes that can be identified in this body of literature that would be useful for summarizing the contributions, limitations, and future possibilities for the current study.

Robert Stamp's PhD dissertation, 'The Campaign for Technical Education

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[42]Smaller discusses a debate that took place in the U.S. between David Snedden and John Dewey, 101.

in Ontario, 1876 - 1914", represents traditional historical research that is based on description. There is little if any question in this research of the human motivational factors that have influenced the campaign for technical education. Even in his later work within "Studies in Educational Change" in 1972, Stamp presents technical education as a practical outgrowth of urbanization, industrialization and political opportunity. In the early 1970's research on technical education began to take on a more revisionist and critical tone. Like research that was occurring in many other areas of the humanities, researchers in technical education began to critically analyse the role of technical schools and programs as possible vehicles for social control. In more recent times, such research has been criticized as being too deterministic in its approach. The social control perspective has predominated in this body of literature, which is understandable, given that this perspective has emerged from a sociological and psychological understanding of the process of individual socialization[43]. Since research on technical education involves analysis of one of society's major institutions of socialization - school - it is understandable that social control theory is present in much of the research reviewed here. At the same time, these works have offered some insight into the possibilities that other factors that have influenced technical education were more complex than initially thought. For instance, T.R. Morrison and O.P. Rafferty offer the possibility that the term "technical education" and the use of "science" were strategies that were intended to offset social control efforts.

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[43]See S. Cohen and A. Scull, 1986, 5.

Concrete examples of reactionary efforts to achieve social control are also offered by J. Blanchard and J.A. Wiseman, who both cited examples of working class rejection of education that contained a moralistic tone. Although much of the research on technical education can be categorized as having adopted a theory of social control, the same research also provides evidence of other possibilities.

These possibilities have been explored recently in case studies of the London Technical and Commercial High School, in Ontario, by I.F. Goodson and I.R. Dowbiggan (1991), and C.J. Anstead and I.F. Goodson (1993). The two afore-mentioned works present the possibilities of resistance to technical education from the middle class and support for technical education from individuals within education. The agency of students was considered as a factor which has had influence on technical education and was presented by C.J. Anstead and I.F. Goodson.

The last two perspectives mentioned can be categorized as postructuralist in their approach. Fundamental to this approach is the assumption that power is relational and dynamic. Power according to this perspective must be analysed within a specific context, assuming that there are a myriad of factors, influences and active agents which have shaped the specific construction. The body of literature on technical education has just recently began to question the dynamic construction of power that has emerged not only from middle class social reformers but also from other sources present in specific local contexts where technical education was established. Now that this body of literature has

considered the role of students, teachers, principals, and local press, a more complex construction of technical education is emerging. Early works have offered some of the more formal and obvious influences over how technical education has been used. Later, more recent works have questioned the social control theory by considering some of the local, specific, and less obvious factors in technical education. By considering the details present in one case study, it is possible to understand more about the complex construction of this unique type of education.

The present study will continue to respect the complexity of how technical education emerges in a local context by respecting the relational and dynamic process of establishing technical schools. It was a form of social power by default, as it became an accepted part of Ontario's formal educational system. The establishment of The Toronto Technical School is a particularly important case study, because it has the ability to present the details of the forces involved in technical education in its initial transition from an idea that grew out of local needs to the concrete reality of one formal school that was integrated into the provincial public school system. Not only will this study provide details of the dynamic processes involved in establishing technical education, but as the initial process that served as a springboard for the province, the long range intentions of the stakeholders involved in technical education can also be better understood.

Summary of Previous Literature

This body of literature offers some insight into how and why technical education was introduced into Ontario's educational system. Through this body

of literature we know that Mechanic's Institutes were a first attempt by the provincial government to offer technical education[44]. According to previous studies, Mechanic's Institutes failed as technical education centres for two reasons, because they failed to be practical and appealing to the working class[45], and secondly, the institutes were better equipped as libraries and lacked the resources to offer the kind of courses that were needed by mechanics[46].

One of the reasons offered for the lack of appeal of early technical classes was due to the moralistic tone of some of the course content[47]. The Toronto Technical School was considered to be a reaction to the Mechanic's Institute approach to technical education as well as its lack of resources[48]. The Toronto Technical School stood for working class education that would offer students security, opportunities in a changing economy and upward mobility by adding science to existing traditional skills and knowledge within a formal educational setting. The emphasis on science in the curriculum of technical education was a double edged sword. It may have been viewed as a vehicle for legitimizing "trade secrets" and standardizing skills, but the cultural elements of individual trades were sacrificed in the process[49]. This loss of culture represented a loss of power

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[44]See J. Blanchard, 1981; J. Wiseman, 1981.

[45]See J. Blanchard, 1981; J. Wiseman, 1981.

[46]See J. Blanchard, 1981; Rafferty, 1995; J. Wiseman, 1981.

[47]See J. Blanchard, 1981; J. Wiseman, 1981.

[48]See T.R. Morrison, 1974, ;O.P. Rafferty, 1995.

[49]See O.P. Rafferty, 1995.

and control for students and workers in the long run[50]. The double-edge sword of technical education, in summary, is the gaining of a new status on the one hand, and a break with working class cultural traditions on the other hand.

The literature also indicates that technical education directly affected those students who would not otherwise pursue secondary education. On the other hand, their opportunities were limited by class and gender barriers imposed on education through selective recruitment of students into technical schools and programs[51].

In a context of industrialization and a dwindling apprenticeship system[52], perhaps there were few options, aside from offering technical education within the formal educational system. There was a demand from industry leaders for educated workers with no investment of time and money by the companies. Technical education promoted secondary education for the working class at a time when there was little or no motivation for working class children to attend school beyond the elementary level. Technical education also served as a socializing agent for immigrants, the working class, and aboriginals[53]. The two major obstacles to technical education were the high status of the secondary educational system that was in place, and the costs and responsibility of a new

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[50]See O.P. Rafferty, 1995.

[51]See M. Danylewycz., N. Fahmy-Eid & N. Thivierge, 1984; I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, 1991; H. Smaller, 2003.

[52]See O.P. Rafferty, 1995; R. Stamp, 1970, 1972, 1982 .

[53]See M. Danylewycz., N. Fahmy-Eid & N. Thivierge, 1984; T.R. Morrison, 1974; H. Smaller, 2003.

curriculum that required practical laboratories and specialized teachers. The city of Toronto attempted to overcome these obstacles. This body of literature does offer some specific information regarding the accomplishments of the city of Toronto in the effort to offer technical education.

What does this body of literature tell us about the Toronto Technical School?

Three authors have made direct reference to, and also provided information about, the Toronto Technical School. Those authors were R. Stamp, T.R. Morrison and O.P. Rafferty. From R. Stamp, we are able to understand the general story of the Toronto Technical School as it relates to major political and economic changes in Ontario from 1876 to 1914. This general outline of the Toronto Technical School includes dates and events that were significant turning points in the story, such as when evening and day classes began, locations of the school, and the names of many of the political figures who had an interest in technical education, such as William Pakenham, one of the schools most outspoken principals, and George Ross, who was the minister of education initially, and then became the premier of Ontario.

T.R. Morrison indicated the effect that establishing the Toronto Technical School had on practical education. According to Morrison, the creation of the Toronto Technical School brought with it a practical education hierarchy. This hierarchy was structured along a status continuum, with industrial education being on the lowest rung, manual training running a close second, and technical schools representing a new high status in practical education. According to this theory, the Toronto Technical School was created in reaction to, and as a

challenge to, education that served to reinforce a class system based on inequality. This is why there was slow progress, and a "divorce" from the other school boards. This is also why the Toronto Technical School curriculum included academic courses as well as having school shops and laboratories.

Rafferty discussed the Toronto Technical School in detail, emphasizing that Toronto was the first city to utilize the amended Municipality Act in order to start a technical school[54]. Rafferty noted that initial outspoken advocates for technical education included John Galt, and Alderman George E. Gillespie. John Galt was important to Rafferty because he supported both science and industrial art in the curriculum, indicating that perhaps he was not influenced by modern idolization of science. Gillespie was described as one of the "staunchest" advocates of a civic technical school. As such, Gillespie presided over the sub-committee on technical education. Rafferty outlined some of the general details of the debates in city council regarding establishing and funding for the Toronto Technical School. Rafferty reviewed the structures of the technical school and school board as it was outlined in the city by-law. Rafferty also noted that labour was well represented on the technical school board, mentioning the Architectural Guild, Trades and Labour Council, and the Association of Stationary Engineers. Rafferty provided a list of notable labour leaders that promoted the technical school including D.J. O'Donoghue, Robert Glocking, Charles March, John Tweed, A.W. Holmes, and Jimmy Simpson. Rafferty briefly mentioned issues such as day

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[54]See Rafferty, 1995, 221-257. 36 pages of this dissertation are dedicated to a detailed description of the Toronto Technical School.

classes, suitable accommodations, and rising costs of running the Toronto Technical School. Rafferty generally described the curriculum and staff of the Toronto Technical School after 1900.

In conclusion, Rafferty claimed that the support for the technical school was geared to "empowering" the status of "manual workers". In studying the background of the student population, Rafferty found that not only were many students upgrading their skills, but many were also taking courses at the Toronto Technical School as a first step toward a future occupation[55].

According to this body of literature on the history of technical education in Ontario, educational reforms were occurring under the broader pressure of industrialization, urbanization, political changes, and social reforms geared to the working class and children[56]. Technical education may have been initiated in response to social reform efforts to control the working class through education[57]. And yet, some labour leaders who promoted technical education, such as D.J. O'Donoghue, had first hand experience with moralistic education from the Mechanics Institutes[58]. Instead of moralistic guidance, it may be that the working class needed education that would increase a person's potential for upward

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[55]See Rafferty, 1995, 251. Information on student background is summarized in "Table 5".

[56]T.R. Morrison, "Reform as social tracking: The case of Industrial education in Ontario, 1870-1900, "The Journal of Educational Thought 8, 2, (August 1974), 87-110.

[57]R.M. Stamp, The campaign for technical education in Ontario, 1876-1914 (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1970).

[58]Blanchard, Jim. Anatomy of Failure: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1835-1895. *Canadian Library Journal,* (December 1981), 393-405.

mobility and status[59].

These two contradictory examples may be explained by a more fundamental change that occurred as a result of educational reforms under "new education", which not only altered curriculum, but also the dynamics of social power[60]. This change allowed schools, and school bureaucracies, to play the role of selecting for students the educational opportunities they would have[61]. This power could be used to both empower students and also sustain social inequality in a local context[62]. In order to understand how these factors and influences have been played out in the Toronto context the current study of the Toronto Technical School has been conducted.

Significance of the Study

The present historical investigation adds to the existing body of literature by taking a closer look at the various stakeholders and how and why they participated in initiating the Toronto Technical School. It examines a successful school whose supporters were able to rally adequate support, funding, local press coverage, public relations and acceptability within the existing system of public secondary education. In reconstructing the story of the Toronto Technical School,

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[59]Wiseman, John A. Pheonix in Flight: Ontario Mechanics' Institutes, 1880-1920. *Canadian Library Journal,* (December 1981), 401-405.

[60]Stamp, Robert M., *The schools of Ontario, 1876-1976.* Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press 1982.

[61]Ibid.,.

[62]Smaller, Harry, "Vocational Education in Ontario Secondary Schools," *Integrating School and Workplace Learning in Canada: Principles and Practices of Alternation Education and Training,* ed. Hans G. Schuetze and Robert Sweet, 95-134. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003.

the process of how the school was established is analyzed with regard to the influences and themes identified in previous research.

Methodology

The Toronto Technical School was established in 1891. To study an event that occurred more than a century earlier required an historical investigation, based on surviving documents of the event. Seven types of primary resources have been relevant to the current study. The sources used include the minutes of the proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto from 1890-1904, the minutes of the Trades and Labour Congress meetings, articles from the *Toronto Star* from 1894-1904, educational research reports, letters, petitions, reports and resolutions from industry and labour organizations, and photographs.

One possible criticism of the sources relied upon in this study might be the absence of documents from the high school board on the topic of technical education. It is known from other primary sources and secondary sources that a committee on technical education did exist. No correspondence to or from the committee or school board was found in the municipal or provincial archives. The Toronto District School Board archives were contacted to inquire about their holdings for technical education, and an e-mail response indicated that they did not have any primary sources regarding technical education.

Since this study is largely reliant on primary documents it is necessary to consider issues of validity. Due to the variety of resources consulted, it has been possible to compare dates, perspectives, opinions and interpretations using

documents on the same event from the sources previously mentioned. With this in mind, the variety of educational stakeholders that have left documents serves as a strength to this study. As discussed in the review of secondary sources, there are a number of explanations and reasons for promoting technical education. The voices of the stakeholders actually involved in the Toronto Technical School have to be considered in the context of the previously identified reasons derived from secondary sources. With a variety of perspectives represented in the documents, an event can be reconstructed with confidence, knowing that internal validity is readily made obvious through comparative analysis with previous themes in literature as well as with other documents created at the time. For instance, it is possible to suggest that the *Toronto Star* was sympathetic to the initiatives of labour unions who supported the Toronto Technical School, through comparisons of various labour documents and article content.

Another issue of concern might be researcher bias. As a previous student and teacher at a technical school, there may be concerns that both positive and negative experiences in these schools could influence interpretations and analyses. Granted, my background does not meet the highest expectations of positivist-empiricist notions of objectivity and detachment. I can say that I am aware that personal experience is not the same as authority on a subject. Just as a small unique sample in research should never be used to make a major generalization, so I understand that the experiences that I have had in technical schools should not be automatically generalized to other contexts. On the other

hand, my past experience in technical schools has afforded me with a critical lens that has grown out of my personal experience. Insider knowledge is different from bias when there is an awareness of your own perspectives, which have been shaped by experience. Those experiences can be helpful in looking at secondary sources and analyzing them with insider knowledge. There is no weakness when experience is combined with social and political context and historical evidence. I needed to do this research because I needed to acquire the social and political context through historical evidence, and this body of literature benefits when my experiences and research are added to the existing social and political context and historical record. In my eyes, this is a nearly perfect combination.

Organization of Chapters

Chapters Two to Five include the relevant details of how the Toronto Technical School was established and integrated into our public school system. Chapter Two covers the period from 1888, when records first indicate city council had discussed "practical education", to 1891. The details of Chapter Two have two functions. First, the chapter illustrates the diversity of opinions that existed initially amongst the various supporters of technical education. Secondly, this chapter demonstrates a direct connection between the Toronto Technical School and provincial legislation for education. Both purposes are important for understanding the role that the Toronto Technical School had in organizing ideas and future intentions of technical education for the province.

Chapter Three covers the time period from 1892 - 1897. One of the lessons learned from the case study conducted on the London Technical School

in Ontario, was the importance of the local press in mediating the role of technical education in a community. The focus on the role of the Toronto Star provides an interesting contrast to previous themes throughout the body of literature on technical education in Ontario from Social Control advocates. The content of the Toronto Star articles, frequently supporters of labour viewpoints, as well as their frequency and passion, challenge the notion that technical education was an imposed form of education on poor, working class citizens[63]. Another main theme of Chapter Three is legislation that was provided for technical education in Toronto and afforded most of the power and responsibility of technical education on the city. This legislation, entitled, "An Act Respecting Technical Schools", was also the first step toward provincial funding for technical education.

Chapter Four illustrates the early struggle and issues faced by the Toronto Technical School. By looking at the various approaches to solving these problems that were faced, a better understanding is reached regarding the goals and intentions of the various stakeholders. It is obvious in this chapter that the views about technical education are largely determined by the person's affiliations to education, labour organization, production and industry leadership. As well, local politicians were beginning to realize the immense responsibility they had taken on. Although many of these issues slowed the progress and growth of the school, the struggle to define the meaning, purpose, and future role of technical education was beginning to take form.

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[63]A detailed description of how the Toronto Star emerged as a voice for labour in Toronto has been outlined in the book *Toronto Workers respond to Industrial Capitalism* by Gregory Kealey, 1980.

Finally, Chapter Five outlines the final three years of the Toronto Technical School as a locally run school. Between the years 1901 and 1904, the division amongst the various organized supporters of technical education and the growing demands of the school had provided an opportunity for the province to increase its role. The amalgamation of The Toronto Technical School into the public school system occurred but the presence of strong labour leaders in local politics and the continuation of a school uniquely dedicated to technical education is evidence that the needs expressed by organized labour in 1888 were still being acknowledged and honoured.

The four chapters outlined here bring together the elements that influenced technical education from 1888 - 1904. The local context of Toronto, Ontario during this time period brought together provincial and municipal politicians, Industry leaders, technical expertise from The School of Practical Science, and strong labour organizations that had access to the local media. All of these groups helped to initially support and shape technical education as we now know it.

CHAPTER TWO: GAINING POWER TO ESTABLISH A TECHNICAL SCHOOL, 1888 - 1891

During the years 1888 to 1904, Ontario was experiencing economic and social changes that challenged educational philosophy and practice. Ontario's economy in the 19th century had been comprised mostly of primary industries such as farming, forestry and mining. Within this economic context of primary industry, secondary industries were emerging along waterways and railway routes. The concentration of secondary industries created a concentration of people as well. Many towns and cities experienced rapid growth as a result of these economic changes. The emergence of urban centres prompted social change. Working class urbanites from the middle to late 19th century struggled with inadequate housing, lack of clean water and waste removal. The struggle just to survive created a great strain on the family unit. Children often worked to contribute to the family income. Alcoholism was often a reaction to the harsh conditions of urban industrial life. The presence of social agencies such as the YMCA, The Orphan's Home, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the establishment of various trades and labour unions, reflect attempts to deal with the social changes taking place.

Both the economic and social changes at the time challenged education as a public service. Public education at the secondary level was structured to prepare students for professional careers. The majority of people living in Ontario's growing cities were not professionals but laborers in textile mills,

factories and skilled trades[64]. As a growing urban industrial center, Toronto was in a unique position to challenge an educational system that did not serve the needs of urban industrial communities. Ironically, Ontario's educational system was held in high regard with educational communities around the world, though it was becoming out-dated. The praise of the Ontario educational system created a situation in which many educational policymakers were resistant to change even in the face of public support for changes. In the thick of the economic and social changes, the city of Toronto became the battle ground for publicly funded technical education in Ontario secondary schools.

Toronto had economic, political and public support for technical education. A strong organized front emerged that included city council, various manufacturers, the Stationary Engineers, the Toronto Architectural Guild, the Trades and Labour Council, the Board of Trade and some prominent educators. Understanding the local issues and needs of Toronto, city council members called for educational changes to suit the needs of this particular city. The local support from various organizations served educational change well, as they provided government with information and pressure for funding. The support from the public was apparent by the numbers enrolled in schools such as the Ontario Society of Artists School, and The School of Practical Science. While there were efforts elsewhere to lobby the provincial and federal governments for recognition

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[64]David Stanley Enns. *Technical Education and Industrial Training in Early Twentieth Century Canada; The Royal Commission of 1910.* 1982. Enns provides a great deal of evidence to support Toronto's unique position to demand education that was practical for working people.

and funding of technical education, none were as successful as Toronto. The unique makeup of Toronto set the stage for change which had already begun in some sporadic ways.

Prior to 1888 challenges to the traditional educational curriculum in Toronto were a fragmented effort with no coherence or formal unifying structure in the city of Toronto. There were some manual training classes in the elementary schools, The Victoria Industrial School served Toronto's wayward youth, the Mechanic's Institute offered library services and planned to offer technical courses, art schools were beginning to add industrial art to their curriculum, and the School of Practical Science was successful as an emerging branch of the University of Toronto. All of these courses, departments, schools and institutions were being promoted, funded, and maintained in isolation from each other. This is due mostly to the motivations and influences that initiated these schools, which were all unique and unrelated. The promotion of domestic science was initiated by Adelaide Hunter Hoodless with the support of the National Council of Women of Canada to promote traditional female knowledge and skills involved with maintaining a home. The Victoria Industrial School was promoted by local social reformers who looked to education to compensate for the social problems and lack of family structure experienced by some of Toronto's youth. The Mechanic's Institutes sought to offer services that would be morally uplifting to Toronto's working class. One common theme present here, as mentioned in the literature, seems to be an underpinning of social reform steering this attempt at technical education. The School of Practical Science on the other hand had firm and solid

backing from the science departments at the University of Toronto. This offering of technical education was promoted by professors of science who understood the necessity of scientific knowledge and skills as the back bone to many professional and skilled occupations such as engineering and architecture. Although this particular example may have begun as another isolated promotion of technical education, it proved itself, and fast became integrated and accepted into the existing structures of the university system.

The acceptance of manual training courses, and practical science in the existing structures of both the elementary school system and the university system left a void in the curriculum at the secondary school level. This was exceptional in the Ontario school system that was known as "the Ross ladder" because of its continuity from level to level. From kindergarten to university there was a well planned and organized conceptual flow in the curriculum. It is expected then that the secondary system would be an easy next step for the acceptance of practical courses into its midst. With the background just given it would seem that the promotion of free public technical education at the secondary level would be a natural addition, given the existing school curriculum structure and the obvious desire for technical education, but this was not the case[1]. The effort to establish a technical school that prepared future workers or aided existing workers in skilled trades was a hard won campaign that included a

[1]Many labour representatives did not see integration into a middle class schooling system as a positive goal but rather something to avoid as it would mean middle class control over what had been traditionally under the control of the working class.

wide variety of views and expectations regarding technical education and its meaning, purposes, and responsibilities. The reconstruction and analysis that follows will investigate the process of how the Toronto Technical School was established in light of the influences and factors herein identified.

The reconstruction of events begins in 1888. This is the time period when isolated and independent forces in Toronto began to collaborate with each other on the topic of technical education. On October the 25th, 1888, Mayor Edward Frederick Clarke,[2] M.P.P. of Toronto, wrote a letter to follow up the discussions that took place in a previous meeting a few days earlier with the minister of education, George W. Ross[3]. In this letter Mayor Clarke clearly indicated the positions put forth in the meeting as he saw it, and where he stood on the topics discussed. The letter indicated that Mayor Clarke proposed that two new educational departments be added to the School of Practical Science. Mayor Clarke expressed a wish to have the city establish these new chairs and determine the subject matter taught via a city by-law. The mayor reasserted to G.W. Ross that this action was necessary because the council, as representatives of the city, was not interested in "ornamental scholarship". The city wanted and needed "subjects of practical every-day interests and use to the

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[2]It is important to note that Mayor Clarke has been mentioned by prominent labour historians such as Gregory Kealey who provide biographical information about Edward Frederick Clarke and his role in labour. This information can be found in his book, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism*, 323-324. Information about Mayor Clarke's involvement in the trade of printing and organized labour can also be found in Rafferty, 1995, 229-230.

[3]A letter contained in the file labeled the "Toronto, Corporation City, 1888 - 1892" from The Ontario Archives. RG 2-29-1-209

community". These interests would be best served by two new departments in"Applied Chemistry and Applied Mechanics". Clarke justified his request by providing numerous examples of practical and industry-related courses that could be taught in the two departments ranging from the chemistry of food and "modern explosives" to sanitary engineering and electrical engineering. Ross on the other hand suggested that the two new departments be English Literature and Mineralogy or Geology. Clarke indicated his objections to this, stating that English literature was of no practical value except to "specialists", and mineralogy and geology were already offered at the school of practical science. Ross attempted to come to some compromise suggesting that if the city established the chairs that he was recommending then the Province would establish and maintain the two practical courses suggested by the city. Clarke was suspicious of this compromise, bringing up the possibility that the province might save money by paying the chairs of practical departments less money than the university professors, whereas the city would then be taking over the expenses for the province by assuming responsibility for the two more traditional or established departments suggested by Ross. Clarke argued that in other places where practical science was established, the salaries were equal to that of university professors; in addition, laboratories and various types of equipment such as smithy lathes and steam engines would be needed. In conclusion, Clarke stated that if Ross could not propose something more, that would insure the maintenance of such programs from year to year, the city would have to carry on without the aid of the province and as Clarke saw it, it was their right to do so.

From Clarke's letter alone it would appear that there was little sympathy for the educational needs of Toronto, but a reply sent by G.W. Ross six days later on October 31st,1888 suggested that Ross was receptive to the ideas that had been put forth and did sympathize with the need for practical education[1]. In Ross' reply there was an effort to express the depths of his understanding in this matter and also the desire to avoid a "tedious and expensive legal battle". Ross stated that he "appreciate[s] very highly the effort put forth...your offer...of $6,000...will be regarded throughout the entire province as a handsome recognition by the city". Ross then continued by acknowledging the city's complete understanding of education in the economy, and with competition from the United States, concluding that, "The actions of your council is patriotic to the highest degree and worthy of the growing City whose name the university bears". Ross continued the letter by demonstrating his own interest and commitments to technical education. Ross claimed in the letter to have made inquiries to "artizans and manufacturers" and as a result would recommend "provisions for industrial education" by increasing the funding given to The School of Practical Science by $29,000. Ross then asked that the city put the $6,000 they had to offer toward an English literature chair or chair in mineralogy or geology. Ross held to his original compromise and justified the request by arguing that either department would be practical in nature. Ross argued that when you offer English literature, "you aid in perpetuating the spirit of our Anglo Saxon institutions". When mineralogy and

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[1] Ibid., Toronto, 31st. Oct. 1888.

geology classes were offered "you aid in pouring untold wealth into your city in the near future". After having given a firm monetary commitment and then reasserting his own request, Ross expressed the wish that the negotiations go smoothly and be ended in a satisfactory way.

According to subsequent correspondence the negotiations did continue. On December 6th, 1888 Ross contacted the Toronto Board of Trade to request a complete set of envelopes addressed to the membership for the purpose of distributing a circular which would invite the members to a meeting to discuss technical education[2]. The following day the Toronto Board of Trade replied indicating that the council would discuss technical education at its next meeting and would be glad to help by providing addressed envelopes for the circular. Between December 10th and the 19th Ross received 14 replies from various members of the Toronto Board of Trade. All of the responses were positive with regard to establishing technical courses, but surprisingly many of the members declined the invitation stating that they had to attend another meeting. The letters do provide some insight; for instance, the Weston Woollen Manufacturing Co. indicated that those interested in learning the "woollen trades" must currently go to England. Another letter from John Bertram of Canada Tool Works, explained that his company offered four year apprenticeships, but had found that the first two years of the apprenticeship were proving to be unprofitable, and would appreciate some preparation provided in schools that would allow boys to arrive

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[2] Toronto Board of Trade, 1888. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-6602.

with some basic standardized skills and knowledge. Yet another perspective came from Herbert Mason who was the Managing Director of Canada Permanent Loan & Savings Company, and who wrote that he was concerned that "our country is flooded with young men seeking to enter the learned professions, or to become clerks or teachers" when they were not suited to do so "and would be much better suited to some branch of skilled manual labour". Even after the meeting on technical education took place, Ross received a letter from W.H. Elliott who noted that schools for technical education were needed to offer better provisions for classes in industrial art and stained glass design which were currently offered in art schools[3]. Elliott also made the point that the apprenticeship system was unsuitable because of "jealously guarded...trade secrets". Those willing to learn a trade would be better served by a "system of state instruction".

From the exchange between Clarke, Ross, and various leaders in different industries it is illustrated that there was a diverse set of perspectives that existed with regard to technical education. There were concerns about competition in education, and that Ontario was not as well equipped educationally as the U.S. or England. There were indications that the apprenticeship system was lacking due to the time and costs involved in training or simply due to competition within an industry. Even when some provisions for formal training in a trade had been achieved such as with industrial art, there were still concerns that the accommodations were not appropriate. Even at this early stage in the process

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[3] W.H. Elliott, Toronto. 1888. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-6584

there were indications that some people would like to see a technical school that offered a diversity of courses at one location that was well equipped to handle this particular type of education. This message was clearly delivered by the Architectural Guild who wrote to Ross on February 6th, 1889 to thank him for recommending to the legislature that the province establish a school of Architecture and offered to help establish and maintain the school[4]. The letter also went on to thank Ross for looking into the possibility of "instituting technical schools". Even when the province was recognizing architecture alone, the Architectural Guild as a body was still promoting more broadly equipped technical schools, thus indicating a more general concern for education. Yet with all the information and obvious support even by the minister of education himself, provincial legislation was slow to materialize. In the following year, city council, true to their word, took steps to move ahead without the help of the province.

On February 18, 1889, a committee was organized by city council to look into the matter of technical education. Aldermen Ritchie, Hill, Fleming, St Leger, Small, McMillan and Tait, were to consider establishing evening technical classes[5]. Five months later in July of 1889, the special committee prepared and distributed a circular to approximately 150 organizations and people that could possibly be interested in offering insight that would help the committee. Fifteen positive responses included, D.J. O'Donoghue, The Knights of Labor, and various

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[4] Architectural Guild of Toronto. 1889. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-3816

[5] See Ontario Department of Agriculture, 1894.

engineers and professionals in the field of education. There were no responses that expressed an opposition to establishing a technical school in Toronto. It was later reported by the committee that the responses were forwarded to the minister of education, George Ross, who then amended the Free Libraries Act in order to empower the Free Library Board in Toronto with the power to institute and manage evening technical classes. The free library board was also given the sum of $2,000 for the purpose of establishing free evening technical classes[6].

At the next city council meeting on July 5 1889, the Free Library Board gave an official response which indicated a lack of knowledge and ability to deal with the subject of technical education. The Free Library Board recommended that the committee investigating technical education immediately hire a knowledgeable person who could possibly serve as principal in the school, who would also write a plan of action for the establishment and maintenance of the school. Once this step was taken the Free Library Board could make an "intelligent" decision about managing a technical school. The committee took the advice of the Free Library Board and hired Mr. John Galt to write the report that would outline the specific plan for establishing and maintaining an evening technical school. The report was presented at the next Free Library Board meeting on November 8, 1889. The report included a plan for one central technical school and related branch schools that would offer day and evening classes. The syllabus included 9 different classes including science, mathematics,

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[6]Ibid,.

art, philosophy, construction and engineering. The day classes would cost a moderate fee, while the evening classes would be "nominally" free. The report included costs to begin at $3600 for the maintenance of one central school and one branch school. In addition equipment, salaries and rent were estimated at $7,600. The city also offered a grant to the school of $5,000. The Library board then carried their own research, investigating several technical schools in the United States to compare the syllabus and expenses provided by the committee on technical education. The Free Library Board concluded that offering technical education was beyond the scope of the Free Libraries, and they refused to manage the proposed plan. It was recommended by the Free Library Board that the city seek other legislation that would provide the municipality funding and control over technical education[7].

At a council meeting held on February 17, 1890, Alderman William Bell and Alderman John Bailey moved in council and directed the legislative committee to consider scientific instruction for the working classes in the public school board which was carried[8]. Concerns were raised afterward by A.M.Wickens, president of the Canadian Association of Stationary Engineers and S.S. Malcolmson, president of the Canadian Marine Engineers Association. The concerns were about the city not using the grant money promised earlier for its original purpose of establishing schools for imparting scientific education to the working classes.

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[7] Ibid,.

[8] Establishment of technical schools, in the Minutes of the proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1890. City of Toronto Archives

The council thereafter set about drafting a by-law to establish a technical school which had to be amended and was referred back to a committee on technical education for further consideration. The result was report No.21 which was passed in July of 1890. An excerpt of the report reads as follows;

Technical Education

Your committee, having carefully considered the establishment of technical classes for artisans, respectfully submit the following Report and recommendations:
Your committee after due inquiry into the industrial needs of this City, are convinced that classes at which artisans can be taught the scientific principles and laws which underlie the handicrafts and industries in which they are engaged, at which lessons can be given in the useful arts, and by which solid information and teaching can be disseminated among the masses of our workers, are very urgently required.

Necessity of such classes

Not only is Toronto behind other cities of equal size in this respect, but we have reason to suppose that our industrial progress will suffer in the future unless provisions be made whereby our workers may become as intelligent and well informed as those of other cities.
The difference between a scientifically educated workman and one who is totally ignorant of science is as great as that which divides a blind man from one who can see. The one goes about his work in a "rule-of-thumb" manner having it is true the teaching of experience as to the various phenomena he comes across in the course of his trade, but knowing nothing of the theory which weaves those phenomena into a complete system, and which will enable him to make fresh progress. Enquiries are being made from time to time in different directions by operatives engaged in

our building, manufacturing and mercantile industries who would be exceedingly glad to avail themselves of such courses of instruction as are indicated in the following report. Your committee are therefore of opinion that the classes would be attended by large numbers of this class of people.

Scheme of the Operation

Your committee recommend that this work shall be undertaken under the supervision of a board to be appointed by the city council in the same way as the high school board is appointed to be called "The Technical Education Board. This board should consist of fifteen suitable persons, who shall be elected annually, five to be a quorum, and should include three representatives from city council, in addition to the mayor and the chairman of the executive, who would be ex-officio members. It should also include prominent manufacturers and other employers of labor, educationalists, and a fair representation of the working classes, the board when constituted to have power to pass the necessary by-laws to enable them to carry on the work properly.

Ladies should be admissible as members of the board.

The necessity for a properly constituted, recognized and distinct organization of this kind is admitted by those who have studied this question and is proved by the fact that the public library board, although permitted to establish such classes, has declined to undertake them, alleging that they were beyond the scope of their duties and that they did not consider they were competent to carry them out. Here, it may be well to remark, that an offer was made by the manager of the existing government art schools to make over these organizations to the public library board in the event of that Board undertaking the work of the technical education of workmen.

If a similar offer were made to the proposed Technical Education Board it would be their duty to consider the matter and if found desirable, to absorb and remodel

them in accordance with this plan'[9].

From this excerpt of the initial municipal action to establish a technical school, we see some of the themes present in the correspondence between the Toronto Board of Trade and Ross. There was a concern for how competitive Toronto was in terms of educational services as well as economically. There was also a social and humanistic side in the reasons put forth. As stated in the report, "giving the workingman science, is like giving a blind man sight". This can be taken in two ways. Perhaps there was an element of social reform in these sentiments, but another interpretation is that there was a concern that the ever increasing mechanization of work threatened the role of the artisan in the larger process of production. Perhaps the inclusion of science for the "workingman" was an attempt to keep them from being mere cogs in the machine. This document is evidence that the City of Toronto played a significant role in the overall process of initiating technical schools in Ontario. The satisfaction of having taken this first step toward offering technical education was short lived. Report no. 21 was passed in council in July of 1890 and shortly thereafter the city solicitor informed council that they did not have the power to take this action to establish a school. On November 4, 1890 the city solicitor C.R.W. Biggar wrote a letter to G.W. Ross asking "whether the government will kindly introduce some legislation at the next session of the Ontario Legislature, conferring the power upon the municipality to

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[9] Report no. 21. Appendix no. 299 of Minutes of proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1890. City of Toronto Archives.

establish such schools in the manner suggested by the report"[10]. Report 21 was included with the letter[11]. This left matters in the hands of Ross who in the next legislature did indeed introduce legislation that enabled the city to establish a technical school in the manner indicated in their report. In order to do this, the provincial legislature amended The Municipal Act. The act was amended on May 4, 1891[12]. The much needed amendment for Toronto read as follows;

> *13. For establishing schools for the training and education of artisans, mechanics, and working men in such subjects as may promote a knowledge of manufacturing arts, and for acquiring such real property as may be requisite for such schools; and for erecting and maintaining suitable buildings thereon; for improving and repairing such school buildings, and for disposing of such property when no longer required.*
> *(a) The councils of any municipalities establishing such schools may appoint boards of trustees or managers to conduct the schools, giving them such authority or power for the management of the same, as the councils may deem expedient.*
> *14. For making grants in aid of such schools as may be deemed expedient*

The amendment of The Municipal Act set the stage for the Toronto city council to go ahead with their by-law to establish a technical school and that is exactly what happened. Over the next few months some details about the technical school board were settled, such as utilizing the Street Railway Surplus

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[10] City of Toronto sub-committee on technical education. 1890. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-06597.

[11] Report no. 21 can also be found in City of Toronto sub-committee on technical education. 1890. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-06597.

[12] The Municipal Amendment Act, 1891. Statutes of the Province of Ontario.

fund of $6,000 to aid in establishing a technical school[13], appointing Alexander Horwood as the secretary of the technical school board, and receiving the names of the two representatives from the Architectural Guild who would sit on the board. By November 23, 1891 the city solicitor was preparing the by-law to establish a new technical school. On December 7, 1891 the by-law was ready. After three readings on the same day, a by-law to establish a school for the training of artisans, mechanics and workingmen, in such subjects as may promote a knowledge of mechanics and manufacturing arts, was carried[14].

After three years of discussions, meetings, letters, and inquiries, Toronto had succeeded in what they set out to do - offer technical education to its citizens. However the city was on its own to do so, as stated clearly in the Municipal Amendment Act. At this time in history all of the responsibilities for technical education rested in the hands of the municipality.

Summary: Influencing legislative change

There are three important aspects for understanding the significance of the efforts to establish the Toronto Technical School. First, the correspondence between the minister of education, George Ross and mayor of Toronto, Edward Frederick Clarke with regards to education provides evidence that those who

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[13] A possible explanation of why Toronto City Council was willing to use the Street Railway Surplus to fund technical education can be found in Gregory S. Kealey. *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. (1980). Although Kealey does not directly discuss technical education there is a detailed description of what is called the "the crisis of 1891" in which a labour dispute left bitter feelings between many street railway workers and their employer. It should also be noted that Kealey cites D.J. O'Donoghue as one of the strike organizers.

[14] The by-law no. 2948 is in Appendix B, p. 594. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1891. City of Toronto Archives.

supported the Toronto Technical School directly influenced legislation. Secondly, various members of the Board of Trade who represent business interests in Toronto were directly consulted by George Ross regarding the need for technical education. Lastly, Chapter Two notes the important step taken by city council in Toronto to initiate not only local change and reforms in education but also changes in educational legislation at the provincial level.

The correspondence described in the beginning of Chapter Two provides insight into the relations that existed between the mayor of the city of Toronto and Ontario's Minister of Education, George Ross. The correspondence between Ross and Clarke helps us to understand the initial position and intention behind initiating a technical school. Education that was practical and meaningful was being promoted to improve the everyday working lives of Toronto citizens, particularly those of the working class. Support also came from industry leaders in Toronto as well. The Letters from the Board of Trade help us to understand the interest of business owners. This interest includes being competitive in an international marketplace, and the need to replace the dying apprenticeship system. Although George Ross was well aware that educational change was needed by Toronto's working class, and supported by city council, and various industry leaders, there was still debate over what was considered "practical education". The impasse between Mayor Clarke and George Ross left the city of Toronto without the educational changes it needed. Legal correspondence between Toronto's City Solicitor and George Ross was the final push needed for Toronto to gain the power needed to enact educational change alone, without the

help of the province. This correspondence is important evidence in understanding the role that Toronto had in introducing technical education to the province of Ontario, and demonstrates that these educational changes began as a local and isolated effort but made an impression on the province that lasts to this day. That lasting impression began with report no. 21, which formally stated not only the educational needs of Toronto but gave form and function to new provincial legislation in the form of the revised Municipal Act. The Amended Municipal Act allowed cities in Ontario to establish technical schools and technical school boards. On December 7, 1891, Toronto did establish the Toronto Technical School to improve the life of the working class.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ACT RESPECTING TECHNICAL SCHOOLS, 1892 - 1897

The first order of business was to establish the technical school board members. On February 1st 1892 the secretary of the Canadian Association of Stationary Engineers announced their two representatives for the board[1]. The Trades and Labor Council notified the city council that they had elected two representatives for the board. Including the Architectural Guild, this brought a total of six representatives from labour organizations. From previously cited correspondence there is evidence that the representatives from both manufacturers and labour were a diverse group. The Canadian Association of Stationary Engineers was well informed about the "original intentions" of the board regarding the purpose of technical education and its spending. The Board of Trade had a variety of perspectives as indicated by their correspondence with G.W. Ross. The Architectural Guild was concerned not only with the education of architects, but with education in general. This variety of presence from industry and labor on the Toronto Technical School Board marked a strong beginning for democratic representation.

Night classes began on January 26, 1892. The classes were initially planned to be held in St. Lawrence Hall, which had provisions for 150 students[2].

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[1] From the council meeting on February 1st 1892. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1892. City of Toronto Archives.

[2] Location of the school was stated in the by-law no. 2948 from Appendix B, p.595. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1893. City of Toronto Archives.

The classes were very popular. Initial registrations totaled 307 students and almost immediately plans had to be made to find larger accommodations[3]. The secretary of the Technical Board appeared in city council on November 20th 1893 requesting increased accommodations for the school[4]. The technical school sought larger accommodations at the "old Wycliffe college building" which seemed to suit the school in terms of the space that was required, but it became too expensive to rent. On January 13, 1894, the Toronto Star[5] wrote an article about how the owners of Wycliffe, Hospital Park Trust, suddenly wanted to double the rent originally requested from the city[6].

To add to problems, on the opening day of council, all representatives of the technical school board were announced and soon after the announcements, questions were raised as to Dr. Orr's ability to serve as an educationalist. This is the point at which the diverse perspectives of the technical school board began to show. It is also the point at which the technical school board began to receive a great deal of press attention. The technical school board however seemed up to the task of debate under the public microscope. After concerns of suitability were

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[3] This information was obtained from a secondary source. Web page of the Central Technical School. Http://schools.tdsb.on.ca/centraltech/history.html. Retrieved on April 12th 2005.

[4] Monday November 20th 1893. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1893. City of Toronto Archives.

[5] Throughout this paper any references "The Toronto Star" will also appear as "the Star", "The Evening Star", "the press", "the local press", and "the Daily Star", as The Toronto Star is the only newspaper used and discussed in this research.

[6] Double Their Rent. The Evening Star. Saturday, January 13, 1894. p. 5. This article was obtained using "Pages of the Past" online. Http://thestar.pagesofthepast.ca/Default.asp. Retrieved on March 27, 2005.

raised with regard to Dr. Orr, a vote was taken with the following results:

For the removal of Dr. Orr - A.M. Wickens and Charles Heale (from the Association of Stationary Engineers), R. Glockling, D.J. O'Donoghue, and T.W. Banton (From the Trades and Labor Council), Edmund Burke and S.H. Townsend (From the Architectural Guild), and Prof. Galbraith - 8 votes.

Against the removal of Dr. Orr - Mayor Warring Kennedy, Ald. John Bailey, Ald. John Shaw, Ald. William P. Atkinson, Ald. John Dunn, Dr. J. Orlando Orr (serving educationalist on the technical school board) and John Armstrong. - 7 votes.

This vote was noteworthy because the divisions for and against the removal of Dr. Orr were divided mostly along the lines of labour unions and industry leaders on one hand, and city council members on the other. That evening, *the Star* reported that the independent members on the board from industry and labour favored a candidate with a background in teaching and education - Dr. Ellis, who obviously did not end up on the board[7]. Regardless of the reasons for the concern, the division of the board was very clear. This division does begin to raise suspicion that opinions about technical education were becoming more organized at this point. The Toronto Technical School Board had been together for three years. It seems ample time to organize opinions regarding education that begin to reflect not just individual opinions but thoroughly discussed perspectives that represent the needs of many manufacturers and

[7] The Technical School Vote. The Evening Star. Wednesday February 7, 1894. p.2.

industry leaders. Perhaps the opinions of Dr. Ellis reflected the opinions and needs of both industry management/ownership and organized labour. Without speculation, it is certain that the efforts to deliver technical education have become more orchestrated and strategic.

One such strategy now that the press was keeping a close eye on events, was public relations that served to inform the community at large about the activities of the school. At a meeting on April 24, 1894 the technical school board decided to hold an exhibition at the school for the public to see the progress that had been made so far. There would be cash prizes, as well as guest speakers at the event. On April 29, 1894, The Toronto Star announced an exhibition of the students' work. Public events at the school were to become common occurrence. Whenever there was an opportunity to invite the public, the press, and political dignitaries, the opportunity was seized, and quite often with interesting results. One such instance was the opening of the technical school's winter semester, which of course was call for ceremony. The Minister of Education, G.W. Ross, made a speech and was present to acknowledge the students who had excelled in particular departments, as well as every student who had received a certificate. Several addresses were made, including words of encouragement from the principal, J. Armstrong, and two board members who represented labour interests, D.J. O'Donoghue, and T.W. Banton. The mayor had another meeting to attend that night and sent a letter of regret. However the *Toronto Star* had no hesitation in mentioning in their article the following day that not only was the Mayor absent, but, "not a single representative of the city council was present".

The article went on to say, "There are five alderman who are members of the board, but they show little interest in the school, seldom attending a board meeting, and ignoring opening ceremonies"[8].

From this point on, nothing that related to the technical school seemed to escape the notice of the *Toronto Star*, but the paper also celebrated the successes of the school, noting student interest and enrollment. Various student achievements such as awards, academic excellence, and graduations always found a prominent place on the pages of this local paper. For the next couple of years it would seem as though the school had more than a few kinks to work out and they would all be public knowledge via the press. So although in the following examples there are several criticisms, I think the *Toronto Star* needs to be given some credit for gaining provincial attention regarding the success of the school despite the struggles the city had in offering this particular type of education and the demands that went along with it. In the meantime, the issues faced by the Toronto Technical School became an on-going saga that unfolded in the paper on almost a weekly, and sometimes a daily basis.

On October 6, 1894, overcrowding was reported once again, with a call for immediate attention[9]. There is little evidence in the municipal records of this issue being addressed by city council. The *Toronto Star,* though, reported that the school was on the verge of "being ousted" due to financial trouble that the

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[8]Technical School. The Toronto Star. Tuesday October 2, 1894. p.4.

[9]Technical School Crowded. The Evening Star. Saturday October 6, 1894. p.2.

property owners were having. After some trouble, the Hospital Park Trust, who owned the building, handed it over to a mortgage company, who refused to renew any contracts that the technical board had with the previous owners. Even purchasing the building would be difficult, due to all the back taxes that were owed on it [10]. The technical school board met on November 27, 1894, to discuss the future of the school, one of the main issues being the conditions of Wycliffe. It was decided at this meeting that they would go before city council and present their case, concluding that city council should be prepared to provide another school. The mayor, who was in attendance, suggested that further action be taken to try and keep the technical school at Wycliffe, and if that failed, then the case could be presented in front of council[11]. There is no record of this action going any further than this meeting. It can be assumed however that the technical school board met with resistance on city council because a meeting was then requested with G.W. Ross to discuss a provincial grant[12]. The reports of this meeting are particularly telling regarding the province's willingness to move forward from previous legislation that put all of the responsibility for technical education in the hands of the municipality. At this meeting it was reported that Ross acknowledged the success of the school, stated the obligations of the city and students, and promised a conditional grant. Ross revealed at this meeting that his personal desire to help further the Toronto Technical School met with

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[10]My have to Quit. The Evening Star. November 17, 1894.p.1.

[11]Government Aid. The Evening Star. Wednesday November 28, 1894. p.2.

[12]May get a Grant. The Evening Star. Saturday December 1,1894.

resistance because Toronto already had a great concentration of education. There was no sympathy for this local cause amongst politicians representing other regions of the province. With this in mind, the representatives of the technical board were reminded that it was the responsibility of the city to offer suitable accommodations. Further, Ross recommended that fees be introduced to cover other maintenance costs. It can be assumed that the last point made by Ross did not sit well with the particular board members who were from organized labour. Those technical school board members who represented organized labour promoted free education for the working classes from the beginning. The previous point, however, would have helped the board achieve what they wanted from city council - a suitable home. Further, motivation was given by the indication that Ross would do everything in his power to convince the province of the need for an annual grant, if the city would provide a suitable, and a permanent home for the technical school. Ross, at this meeting, indicated that the annual grant he intended to fight for, would not just be intended for Toronto, but as incentive to other cities across the province. Ross was quoted as saying that if "Toronto should set the example, Hamilton and other cities would soon follow". The meeting ended on that note, leaving the technical board with added strength to ask the city for a new suitable home, and with the incentive that if it was permanent, provincial grants would follow. Toronto now had the added pressure of setting the example for a future provincial system of technical education. The board had their work cut out for them and the future of the school (and technical education) was now clear. Others did not see the future of technical education in

the same light.

There was another idea emerging that would seek to solve the growing problems of the Toronto Technical School. This idea was not new, but had recently gained popularity, due to the recent troubles experienced. Back when the idea of technical education was first being discussed in council, some council members had wanted the public schools to offer technical courses for the working classes, as it was proposed by labour representatives. After a committee researched further into the topic, the idea of an independent school was acceptable to the council. The problems encountered by the technical school brought this issue to the forefront again. On Thursday, February 8, 1894, Alderman Bernard Saunders made a motion suggesting that high schools offer technical education. Although this motion was not successful, the idea would grow in the coming years. The *Toronto Star* reported that the high school board paid a visit to the technical school and engaged in an informal discussion about "the proposed amalgamation of the high school board and the technical board" The article concluded by saying that Prof. Galbraith (who had just announced his retirement) along with many other technical school board members were against such an amalgamation[13]. The same day in the Toronto Star, there was a warning to the board, and a rebuttal to the reference of "the proposed amalgamation"[14]. In summary the article's main points were, if the workingmen wished to retain the

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[13]A Serious Loss. The Evening Star. Wednesday January 23, 1895. p.2.

[14]Preserve the School. The Evening Star. Wednesday January 23, 1895. p.4.

technical school they must "keep a sharp lookout in the coming year". Among other points made, the article supported its position by pointing out that many of the working-class students would not attend programs offered within a high school, because they were the schools of the middle class.

In the meantime, to offset some of the financial burden of the technical school, the city began discussing amalgamation with the Mechanic's Institute which was functioning as a public library[15]. City council also began to take steps to find a new building for the technical school and assigned a sub-committee to work solely on that issue alone[16]. In addition, the Toronto Star made sure that the entire decision-making process was published for all to see. When two alternative locations were proposed by Boothe, the following comments were made,

> *St. Lawrence Hall was hardly likely to be a suitable building for the purposes of a technical school, as proposed by Alderman Davies. At any rate, the matter should not be allowed to pass without most careful consideration as to the proper requirements of the school...Old Upper Canada College was again mentioned as the more suitable place for the school. This valuable school should not be cramped and made ineffective by a band of tax reducers. In the technical school the workingmen of this city have a strong lever to raise the standard, both of their products and their living*[17].

The tensions between Council, and organized labour representatives (and a labour friendly newspaper) reached a peak when the Technical Board made an appeal for more money because expenses had exceeded the estimates. One

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[15]All Sorts of Matters. The Evening Star. Tuesday February 19, 1895. p.4.

[16]The Technical School. The Evening Star. Thursday February 21,1895. p.2.

[17]Booth's Scheme Denounced. The Evening Star. Wednesday February 27, 1895. p.2.

alderman went on record as saying that technical education was a luxury, which was a great insult to many of the original promoters of the school. Four days later, a member of parliament, Mr. Mundella, was to be a guest speaker at the technical school and would hand out prizes to successful students. Mundella had been a prominent promoter of technical education in England, and he offered some inspiring words to the community which were promptly published in the paper with commentary as follows,

> He urged continued efforts in the direction of technical education. If England was to hold its own with the Germans, Swiss and Americans, its mechanics must be the most efficient, skillful and intelligent people in the world. This applies equally well to Canada and Toronto, and if some of our alderman could but be induced to look at the matter...in the light in which Mr. Mundella sees it, they would not take such a scare every time the need for a new technical school building is mentioned[18].

These strong messages in the press did not deter the council, in the next meeting at the technical school board, from the possibility of trying yet again to resolve the issue of staying at the Wycliffe College building. A meeting had been set which required Dr. Orr and Mr. Wickens, who were on the property committee for the technical school board, to go to Hamilton to discuss the alternatives. Despite objections the decision was adopted. The council members in the board also wanted to address the issue of the technical school being over budget and pointed to examples of excessive spending by the principal. After a serious debate about the principal's managerial ability and spending practices, a report proposing the removal of the current principal was adopted. Two independent

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[18]Labor World. The Evening Star. Saturday May 25, 1895. p.3.

members of the board, O'Donoghue and Glockling, tried to defend the principal by saying that an expensive lathe cited as an example had been purchased prior to his arrival on staff, and the difficult timetable was actually adjusted at the request of the council. The debate was recorded in detail the following day in The *Evening Star*, with the subheadings, "Discharged with no chance to defend himself", and "No evidence whatsoever to discredit him"[19]. It was apparent that the relations on the board had gone from bad to worse. Things were calmed temporarily when at the next technical board meeting the teacher's salaries were raised[20]. The temporary calm was broken though when O' Donoghue of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council announced his suspicion that the council was preparing to seek a new by-law that would deny the labor council rights to nominate their own representatives on the technical school board[21]. This rumour began a long lasting tension on the technical school board between some aldermen and labour representatives, but it did not slow down the pursuit of finding a new home for the technical school.

As it had happened every year for the last six years, classes began in October, and as per usual enrollments continued to increase. In 1895 the enrollment increased to over 400 students and more room had been given to the school in the Wycliffe building [22]. With no further evidence that labour nominations

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[19]Dismissed the Principal. The Evening Star. Friday August 8, 1895. p.2.

[20]Raised the Salaries. The Evening Star. Saturday September 21, 1895. p.2.

[21]Technical School Board and Mr. O'Donoghue. The Evening Star. Saturday October 5, 1895. p.3.

[22]Tales of City Life. The Evening Star. Thursday October 10, 1895. p.4.

would be changed on the board, it seems as though the technical school and its board could make it through the semester smoothly. The prize giving ceremonies this year also turned out to be uplifting. In the addresses, city council was praised for supporting such a fine and useful institution, and a local community leader, Father Ryan, spoke to a crowd of over 500 students and citizens, saying that the technical school taught principles, instead of training machines. He stated that the men who attended this school wanted to be skilled artisans and that was what was needed, not skilled machines for assembly line work. The speeches were met with rousing applause from the students and reaffirmed the original intentions of the school[23]. This was a much needed boost for both the students and the promoters of the technical school, who were preparing for another year without a suitable permanent home.

In the following year, council started out as usual with the independent representatives being announced to council and accepted as nominated. This year, however, the process would be different. A year earlier the council had been contacted by the Federated Council of Building Trades, which questioned council in the press as to why only a select group of organizations were represented on the board. This organization also wished to have two representatives on the board but was unable to meet with the mayor[24]. Recall that there was some controversy as well in 1895 over O'Donoghue having heard informally of plans to

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[23]A Noble School. The Evening Star. Friday October 11, 1895

[24]A Building Trade Request. The Evening Star. Tuesday January 15, 1895. p.1.

remove the labour organization's power to nominate representatives to the technical school board. On January 20, 1896, before the nominated representatives were accepted by council, two notices of motion were given, requesting that the council revise the current system of accepting educational representatives on all boards related to education, and that school representatives be elected by ballot[25]. The independent representatives on the technical school board were accepted as they usually were in years previous. The motions, as promised, were made but deferred to the next city council meeting. The by-law to appoint school trustees to the Technical School Board was amended to accept independent representatives on the board by elections. The motion was carried. It would have been expected that this change would have some negative effect on the relations between independent members and members of the city council. To further add to the injury, a reorganization of the teaching staff was proposed to the technical school board so that the city might save $300.00 in salary. This attempt was defeated. But attempted changes made to staffing continued and all the while the council and the technical school board in general received bad press for the continued bickering and fighting which had grown tiresome in the eyes of the press. At the request of G.W. Ross, a meeting was requested with the technical school board. With no other records being found of this meeting it is a mystery as to the purpose or outcome, but the year that followed brought many changes to technical education in Toronto and throughout

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[25]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. January 20, 1896.

the province.

The year 1897 began with the appointment of city council members to the technical school board. The independent representatives, however, were elected by council votes and the changes were well received in the press. Dr. Orr, who had gained a reputation on city council, with the independent members and in the press as being a trouble maker, lost his seat on the board[26]. The prediction was that the technical school board would run smoothly after this change[27]. A few weeks later more good news for technical education would be reported. *The Star* reported that Toronto would receive government aid in this session of the provincial legislature[28]. With such a strong beginning to the year, vows were made on the board to improve the relations between independent members and city council, as well as careful financing, and to find a permanent central home for the technical school[29]. The board went about their business with new enthusiasm and a strong focus on their set goals. At the next city council meeting on March 8, 1897, the board requested a suitable and permanent home for the technical school[30]. This request coincided nicely with the legislation that was passed in the provincial legislature - An Act Respecting Technical Schools, which formally stated what Ross had promised the board verbally more than a year earlier.

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[26]Minutes of Proceedings of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. January 14, 1897.

[27]The Technical School. The Evening Star. January 15, 1897. p.2.

[28]Technical Schools. The Evening Star. February 11, 1897. p.1.

[29]No More Need of Ladies Aid. The Evening Star. Wednesday February 24, 1897. p.3.

[30]Minutes of Proceedings of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. March 8, 1897.

According to the legislation, if the city found a permanent and suitable home for technical education, the school would be entitled to an annual provincial grant[31]. Interestingly, the legislation stated that "the buildings to be used for technical school purposes shall be separate and distinct from the buildings used for high school purposes", but it was also careful to insure equality as well as distinction. "Any pupil not entitled to be admitted to a high school shall not be entitled admission to any technical school". This legislation, I am sure, pleased the independent members of the board who looked to the technical school to improve the quality of life for the working classes, without at the same time simply adhering to middle class values and institutions. Everything seemed to be falling into place.

Summary: The Importance of the Press and Legislative Change

Many examples have illustrated the importance of the press in mediating technical education in a local context. The *Toronto Daily Star* played an invaluable role that supported technical education for working class people[32]. In earlier literature the local press in Toronto was thought to play a minor role in the

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[31]An Act Respecting Technical Schools. Statutes of the Province of Ontario. 1897. Chapter 301. p. 3496-3497.

[32]It should be noted that The Globe, which was more sympathetic to capital, also ran articles on the Toronto Technical School on a regular basis. From the period between 1 January 1894 - 31 December 1904 the Globe ran about 20 articles, advertisements and announcements about the Toronto Technical School. Most of what appeared was with regards to opening ceremonies, student awards, and meetings. One article was particularly impressive: it was a full front page article promoting the success and background of the school with eight photographs of classes and board members. Although the articles that appeared were supportive of the school and its efforts, the Toronto Star is being given credit here for not only its support but also its passion and frequency. Robert Stamp's work in 1970 also covers the contributions of the Globe to the overall campaign for technical education.

campaign for technical education[33], but recent case studies have brought to light the potential power of the popular press to sway local public support for or against technical education initiatives[34]. In this chapter, the role of the *Toronto Star* is undeniable. This local newspaper championed the interest of technical education for the working class with constant articles on council debates on such issues as amalgamation, and highlighting school problems such as school costs, and building problems. If anyone posed a challenge to technical education, The Star would not hesitate to highlight the challenge as a negative effort. If there was any neglect on the part of council regarding the school, the Star was sure to keep the pressure on to resolve the issue. The Star was always an undying supporter of the students, staff, and the labour supporters of the technical school. The *Toronto Star* also kept a record of provincial government reaction and response to local initiatives for technical education. This careful record traces verbal promises of government grants to the Toronto Technical School, with later legislation that illustrates once again that the Toronto Technical School had direct influence on legislation for technical education in the Province of Ontario. The *Toronto Star* also insured that those verbal promises from the government were public knowledge, which helped the effort to bring about the first step toward provincial responsibility for technical education.

Another important change was the creation of An Act Respecting

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[33]See R. Stamp, 1970.

[34]See I.F. Goodson & I.R. Dowbiggan, 1991.

Technical Schools in 1897. This legislation was created in direct response to the needs of the Toronto Technical School. Although it was not a generous offer on the part of the province, it did indicate the continued influence of the Toronto Technical School on provincial responsibility for technical education.

CHAPTER FOUR: A NEW HOME FOR THE TORONTO TECHNICAL SCHOOL, 1898 - 1900

Two years earlier George Ross made a verbal promise to the Toronto Technical School Board that conditional provincial grants would be available to the Toronto Technical School. The Toronto Technical School Board had been focusing much of their efforts on meeting the conditions stated. The main condition was to find a permanent and suitable home for the Toronto Technical School that cost no less than $100,000. A year had passed since the verbal promise of provincial support was transformed into legislation and conditions had still not been met to qualify for the grant. From the beginning of the year 1898, the focus on finding a permanent home for the Toronto Technical School turned into a passionate cause for many members of the Toronto Technical School Board.

The members of the technical school board from city council had been nominated and voted in by January the 10th, 1898[1]. The Architectural Guild submitted the names of their two representatives on the board by January 24, 1898[2]. The first meeting of the technical school board was held on February the 7th, 1898. At this meeting all members were elected to their positions on the board[3].

On May 16, 1898, the Toronto Trades and Labor Council informed city

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[1]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1898. 12-13, 52-54.

[2]Ibid., 16, 69.

[3]*Technical School Board*, The Evening Star, February 8, 1898, 8.

council of a resolution that was adopted at their last meeting. The resolution asked the city to provide a permanent home for the Toronto Technical School[4]. This request was quite timely given that the school had been given notice to vacate the Wycliffe building. An article appeared on this topic in *The Evening Star*. The article stated that the technical school had been given notice that it must vacate Wycliffe Hall by October 1st, 1898, to make way for a university residence which would yield more money than the school paid in rent[5]. *The Star* stated that, "the board has been persistent in pointing out to the city council the necessity of a permanent school building. Just as persistently, city council has refused to recognize any such necessity and has treated the whole matter as one which might be indefinitely postponed to such a time when the city can afford it"[6]. *The Star* also commented that the school had passed an experimental stage, and the success and enthusiasm that the city had shown was proof of its importance to the city[7]. The article indicated the tens of thousands of dollars in frivolous spending that council had recently agreed to, and suggested that the school take more of a priority. The resolution from the Stationary Engineers and now the article in *The Star*, should have been an effective way to pressure city council to act. When the topic was brought up again by the board of control, Mayor Shaw again requested that some reasonable terms should be reached with the

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[4]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1898. 129, 427.

[5]*The Technical School*, The Evening Star, Tuesday July 5, 1898, 2.

[6]Ibid.,.

[7]Ibid.,.

University of Toronto, as the technical school did not even have the funds that would be required to move. The board of control was also asked by council to consider temporary quarters at St. Lawrence Hall, until permanent arrangements could be made. On October 1st, 1898, Mayor Shaw received a letter from The Toronto Athletic Club about the sale of their building and asked the mayor to consider the building for a technical school[8]. On October 11th, 1898, the technical school board paid a visit to the Toronto Athletic Club to consider if it was suitable for a technical school[9]. An architect by the name of Symonds was asked to inspect and report on the properties to council. On October 21st, 1898, *The Star* indicated that The Toronto Athletic Club was 34,690 square feet, and St. Lawrence Hall was only 22,500 square feet. The report was heard, but any decision was delayed until a later date[10]. This decision to delay was not received well in the press. The criticism was printed on the front page of *The Evening Star*. The article entitled "A stiff necked board" appeared on October 28th, 1898 [11]. As indicated by the title, this article was highly critical of the city council. The city council was thought to be overbearing in the matter. According to this article, the city council was pushing for St. Lawrence Hall, because it was currently empty. St. Lawrence Hall however was smaller than the current school location at Wycliffe Hall, which was overcrowded. Nevertheless, Alderman Franklin proposed

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[8] *Technical Education*, City of Toronto Archives, series, box, .

[9] *The T.A.C. Building*, The Evening Star, Friday October 7, 1898, 5.

[10] *Technical School,* The Evening Star. Friday October 21, 1898, 5.

[11] *A Stiff Necked Board*, The Evening Star, (last edition). Friday October 28, 1898, 1.

that it was the duty of the council to act in the best interest of the city and not make any further purchases or constructions of new buildings while one sat empty[12]. Alderman Hubbard and Alderman Crane were willing to listen to the arguments put forth by the Trades and Labor Council regarding the case against St. Lawrence Hall, and even vote in favour of their proposal if they could convince these two aldermen of the school's cause. Not all of the council was willing to listen. Some finger pointing and accusations went on. The technical school board was accused of not making an honest effort in their meetings with the university to extend the lease for the school[13]. Members of the board of control had interviewed the university authorities after the last meeting, and found that the technical school board told the university that the school did not wish to continue renting from them as they wanted the city to erect a technical school[14]. The board of control after discussing the matter with the university for ten minutes was able to come to a one-year extension on the lease. A Mr. Hoskin from the university attested to the quick agreement made with the board of control, and also testified to the negative perspective of the technical school board at their last meeting[15]. After the case against the technical school board was presented, there were still some sympathetic ears on council, but there were increasing tensions for the most part. After the harsh criticism from the council, and then council achieving

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[12]Ibid.,.

[13]Ibid.,.

[14]Ibid.,.

[15]Ibid.,.

an extension of one year for the technical school, the case against St. Lawrence Hall would prove to be challenging. There was still the advice of the architect, as well as the ever present pressure from *The Star*, to help influence council of the need to provide a suitable building for the technical school.

Another boost for technical education, and finding a technical school, came when Alderman Hallam returned from England with a report on technical education in November 1898[16]. Upon presenting the report to council, Hallam admitted that he hoped the information in the report would persuade council to be more generous with the technical school. Hallam explained that technical schools in England were supported through municipal taxation to provide basic equipment, and some maintenance was provided by the Imperial Government. Hallam reminded council, in his opening remarks, that Toronto could be in a similar situation if a permanent home was provided by the city. He noted that once a permanent site was found, the provincial government would provide some maintenance for the school. Hallam's report began by emphasizing that England had realized the importance of the technical education movement on commercial prosperity. After doing research, the House of Commons in England established a national system of practical education that included art, science, and technical education. Now, there were technical schools established in every major town in England. Each one of these schools had teachers with standard qualifications, their annual examinations of students, and government certificates that were

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[16]*Things that Hallam Saw*, The Evening Star. Wednesday November 2, 1898, 2.

awarded upon completion of a program. These schools had both day and evening classes. Hallam mentioned the case of Liverpool in particular, because the town was in a similar situation as Toronto. The technical school in Liverpool was doing well but was impeded by a lack of proper accommodations. Liverpool was now building a large and centrally located building at a cost of 100,000 pounds. In addition it was also building branch schools in outer districts. These accommodations were being partially supported by "beer money", a type of funding where the money from the sales of beer was allocated to the technical schools. This fund yielded 20,000 pounds per year for each school. Hallam remarked jokingly that, "the technical education of the artisan depends greatly on the amount of beer he drinks". Hallam concluded the presentation by citing examples of the improvements that had been made in the towns in England where technical schools existed, trying to draw a direct connection between progress and the quality of education given in technical schools[17].

John Hallam is an example of a steadfast supporter of technical education within the city council. His willingness to invest so much time and effort into the school's cause demonstrates the passion that was at work for technical education. After John Hallam's research in England, he was considered to have expertise in the area of technical education and began corresponding with George Ross on the subject of provincial grants, seeing as his expertise carried no weight with his fellow aldermen. However, other supporters continued to

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[17]Ibid.,.

pressure city council for a decision about the purchase of a new property that would aid the school by providing not just a new home but access to more funding.

The very next day, in a meeting of the property committee, the Canadian Association of Stationary Engineers took the timely opportunity of presenting their reasons why St. Lawrence Hall was not a suitable accommodation for a technical school. There were two main reasons provided. One was space. The school could not possibly move to a smaller building when the current accommodations were unable to house all of the interested students. The second reason was location. Any future technical school would have to be centrally located. The city remained firm that as long as St Lawrence Hall sat idle, they could not in good conscience proceed with any further construction or purchase of other facilities[18]. The assessment commissioner, Mr Fleming, was to report to council regarding the availability of the rooms on the first floor of the east and west wings of St. Lawrence Hall. Alderman Lamb requested that the report be very specific, and that Mr. Fleming not only report on the availability of St. Lawrence Hall, but also its suitability for a technical school. This report should include not only the cost for rent, but also what it would cost the city to reconstruct the building to make it suitable, as well as the suitability of the floor space required. Alderman Sheppard seconded the proposal. Alderman Dunn also asked that Mr. Symonds, the architect who reported to council previously, be included in the inspection and

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[18]*For the Technical School*, The Evening Star, (Last Edition). Thursday November 3, 1898, 1.

reporting. Symonds was not included in the task by a council vote initiated by Alderman Graham. The council would again delay any decision on a building for the technical school until they had heard the report from Mr. Fleming[19].

As usual, when tensions were high between the council and the technical board, the press put everyone under the microscope. On November 13th, 1898, *The Star* ran an article entitled "The city won't buy it"[20]. This article pointed out all the details of the needless bickering that was going on between the property committee and the technical school board. Some member of the technical school board had made sarcastic remarks which commented on delays and waiting for endless amounts of information and reports. The point of the technical school board was that, while the council was busy waiting on information, their chances of getting The Athletic Clubs were growing slim. The point was taken, although the manner in which it was delivered was not well received. It was the property committee's opinion that they were unable to do anything until the report was given by Mr. Fleming. In conclusion, the technical board was instructed that if they absolutely needed to make a final decision on the matter right away, they should inform the owners of The Athletic Club that the building would not be purchased by the city. One criticism of the technical school board from the property committee was that the technical school board had not been firm about indicating their specific needs for a building. The technical school board promptly met for ten

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[19] *Technical School Quarters*, The Evening Star. Friday November 4, 1898, 2.

[20] *The City Won't Buy It*, The Evening Star. Friday November 18, 1898, 6.

minutes, to lay out the details of their needs and submitted them to the Mayor and the property committee. All there was to do after that was wait for the report from Mr. Fleming[21]. Several weeks went by without word from Fleming.

The closing exercises of the technical school, on December 22, 1898, brought issues of obtaining a new building back to centre stage again. Principal McMaster made an address at the ceremony that pointed out how far the school had come in seven years. McMaster noted that enrolments and the "class of people" at the technical school were on an equal footing with any of the collegiate schools, or high schools, and as such, should demand the same amount of respect from city council[22]. From this point on the podium for closing ceremonial addresses was used as a political platform about school building issues. O'Donoghue commented on a seven-year wait for permanent accommodations which was, for the last year, holding up provincial government funding that was conditional upon the city supplying permanent and suitable accommodations for the school. Alderman Davies expressed his opinion that St. Lawrence Hall could be made suitable with $20,000. After the political venting, certificates and prizes were awarded to many students, ending the ceremonies on a pleasant and proud note[23]. The strong feelings on the part of the technical school board representatives was still obvious and was maintained for the new session of council soon to begin.

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[21]Ibid.,.

[22]*Trustees Kick.* The Evening Star, December 22, 1898, 7.

[23]Ibid.,.

The Trades and Labor Council held a special meeting for the purpose of choosing representatives for the school board in the coming year. Five representatives were elected in total, including Charles March, D.J. O'Donoghue, Robert Glocking, Jamieson Tweed, and W.J. Wilson[24]. These representatives set the direction for the coming year by determining that their top priority was to apply pressure to council, and to establish a permanent and suitable home for the technical school. This was a pressing issue due to the upcoming deadline of the current extension of the lease in April, 1899. It was stated by D.J. O'Donoghue at the meeting that the city council representatives might need some reminders in this matter that they were the representatives of the people[25]. The names of the representatives of the Trades and Labour Council were submitted to city council on January 9, 1899. Representing the city were Aldermen Crane, Sheppard, and Hallam. Educational interests were represented by Dr. R.B. Orr[26] and Professor Galbraith[27]. Manufacturing interests were represented by Mr. F.B. Polson. The Canadian Manufacturers Association submitted six names to the council to represent their interests on the technical board, and Alderman Lamb would

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[24]*Ward two has a kick*, The Evening Star. Friday January 6, 1899, 7.

[25]Ibid.,.

[26]It should be noted here that the Dr. Orr elected in the year 1899 is not the same Dr. J. Orlando Orr that was so controversial in 1896 and 1897.

[27]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1899. 18-19, 67-69.

consider their request at the next meeting of council[28]. In the previous three to four years the council had been criticized for not including representatives from labour and industry organizations other than The Architectural Guild, The Association of Stationary Engineers, and the Trades and Labour Council, that had an interest in technical education. It was a problem that had not been addressed by council or pressed by labour and industry, but could not be avoided for much longer as the requests kept growing along with the tensions on the board and the popularity of the school. Having more representatives on the technical school board would be a strategy for both the manufacturers and labour representatives now that the issue of a technical building had deeply divided the different stakeholders. The city wanted to save money, the manufacturers wanted quality, standardized training for potential employees, and labour interests wanted education to serve as a vehicle for upward mobility. John Hallam, though, continued to remain positive that a solution that satisfied everyone could be found.

The stage had been set for the technical school board for the year 1899, with no one wanting a repeat of the previous unproductive year. The council wanted to start the year with a clean slate, indicated Alderman Hallam, who was anxious to settle the matter of a permanent home for the technical school, and

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[28]*For Technical School Board,* The Evening Star, January 3 (5?), 1899, 4. The date on this paper had been damaged so the day of the week as well as the date for the day were not determined.

seemed generally enthusiastic about it when discussing it with the board[29]. These comments were also enthusiastically printed in *The Star* on Friday January 20, 1899[30]. With the mandate set by the Trades and Labour Council, as well as the hopeful perspective by at least one city council member, perhaps dealings of the board would not be as difficult as they had been the previous year.

The enthusiasm that Alderman Hallam expressed the previous day was motivation to begin working toward the pressing goals right away. Hallam wrote a letter to the provincial legislature for permission to raise the funds needed to build a technical school[31]. Over the course of the next four weeks there must have been some correspondence between Premier George W. Ross and John Hallam that determined that there would be a new school. A letter exists from John Hallam to G. W. Ross, that seemed to continue a discussion previously started,

> *I was well pleased with the reception accorded to the Technical School deputation at your hands. I hope you will be our friend and champion in starting this new school and that you will get for it an annual grant of $5,000. The city will be liberal and give not less than $11,000 to $12,000 per annum and I am sure that you will appreciate the liberality of the city in doing this.*
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> *This school will be the first of its kind not only in Ontario but in the British North American provinces and your government ought to encourage all such schools with liberal grants. If you admit the principle that it is right and just to encourage educational institutions by public grants there is no educational institution that I know of [that] deserves it more than the technical school.*
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> *Your government has made large grants to agricultural*

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[29]Recall that Alderman Hallam was the councillor who researched technical education in England and wanted city council to be "liberal" and provide a suitable building specifically designed for technical education.

[30]*Wants a Clean Slate*, The Evening Star, Friday, January 20, 1899, 3.

[31]*For a technical school,* The Evening Star. Saturday, January 21, 1899, 5.

colleges, to the dairy industries, forestry, high school education and other educational enterprises but has never done anything for technical education.

Now I would like you to write me and give me some encouragement during my voluntary exile from the city in pursuit of health and change of scene [Hallam is in Dallas Texas] by writing me concerning the progress being made on this line[32].

After a few weeks of silence on the subject of technical education, it was back to debate with the technical school board and city council. A subcommittee met to discuss the application put forth by the technical school board two years earlier, requesting better accommodations for the technical school[33]. Various comments were made in the press as to the lack of focus in the meeting. Dr. Orr came to the meeting with an interesting statistic for the council which did get the attention of the subcommittee, in the hopes of persuading them to put their full support behind technical education in the city. Dr. Orr stated that there were 1,700 young men in Toronto who were enrolled in distance education courses for technical education, that were offered in the United States. This suggested that if they had a better equipped school, maybe these students would not be looking elsewhere for their education. *The Star*, the following day, stated that the subcommittee meeting achieved nothing in the way of practical discussions or actions, but rather discussed things totally out of their control in an idealistic fashion[34]. Nothing was settled with regard to better accommodations for the

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[32]John Hallam. Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-6590, reference code 1-57B-Technical, MS 5676.

[33]*Get Down to Business*. The Evening Star. Friday April 28, 1899.

[34]Ibid.,.

technical school.

While things appeared to be moving slowly for the Toronto Technical School, advocates for technical education in collegiate schools were making headway. The Ontario Educational Association held an Easter meeting in 1899, where J.E. Farewell addressed the assembly with his paper entitled "Technical Education"[35]. In this paper Farewell made the argument that manual training was needed in the high schools more so than "instructions in classics, French and German". Farewell stated that courses in manual training coupled with science and mathematics would not only provide economic benefit, but were also in the interest of safety, noting boiler explosions, mining tragedies and construction accidents. Public instruction was not simply to prepare a small number of individuals for professional life, according to Farewell, but rather common justice dictated that public education also offer preparation for ways of life that included "agriculture, mechanical arts, manufacturing, mining and commercial pursuits". Once presented, Farewell (seconded by Peter Christie) moved that the study of classics and modern languages other than English be discontinued in one-third to one-fourth of the high schools of the province, and that manual training and instruction be introduced in their place. The proposal was to be considered by a committee, that would make the decision after investigating the issue in other school boards.

On May 25, 1899, not four weeks after the Educational Association

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[35]J.E. Farewell, *A Paper on Technical Education.* 1899. Ontario Archives Microfiche CIHM 89740.

meeting, it was announced in the *Evening Star* that technology courses would be offered in Collegiate schools[36]. In this article it was noted that a special committee from the high school board had asked the Minister of Education to sanction for every collegiate in Toronto at least one technical course. An obvious effort was made in the article to assure readers that this change to the collegiate curriculum would not interfere with the Technical School and its place in the community. The subjects would be different as well as the students who attended. The article described the technical school curriculum as being focused on mathematics, physics, mechanics, chemistry, and clay modeling.

Figure 5: Photograph inside a chemistry class at the Toronto Technical School, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 370.

[36] *Technology in the Collegiates.* The Evening Star. Thursday, May 25, 1899, 1.

The student body was described as fifty percent being over 17 years of age and the other 50 percent being over 20 years of age, making the age of the students older than those that attended collegiate schools. In addition, the students also differed in that they required no entrance exam for the technical school, nor did they pay fees. With this information, the conclusion was drawn that the students were a "different class of people". Without being a threat to the technical schools, most high school students in Toronto gained access to drawing and architectural courses through the curriculum changes. The collegiate board did pass a resolution to include technical courses in all of the collegiate schools in Toronto. Prior to setting up a curriculum, the school board wanted information on manual training from England[37].

The documents about the concerns for establishing practical education in the collegiate schools is interesting because of the awareness that was indicated of the role and purpose of the technical school in the community. The care that was taken not to interfere with the position and purpose of the Toronto Technical School is evidence that the Toronto Technical School had an established and respected position in Toronto. In light of there appearing to be not much support for the school on council over the last four years, it is apparent that other members of the educational community did support the efforts of the technical school. With this kind of recognition and respect, the issue of suitable and permanent accommodations for the school would come, but painstakingly slow

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[37] *The High Schools,* The Evening Star (Last Edition). Wednesday July 15, 1899, 2.

progress on that front continued.

According to a public announcement made in Ottawa by George Ross, the province would provide maintenance, as Hallam requested in his letter. Although no written response in the form of a personal letter from Ross could be found, he did address the Ottawa Board of Trade on May 29, 1899, which was very encouraging[38]. In this address he simply restated the conditions of the legislation passed in 1897. However, the Toronto Technical School was mentioned specifically. Ross vowed to maintain a school that Toronto would purchase for technical education. Although no specific numbers were mentioned, he did give this public reminder knowing what Toronto expected, because Hallam had indicated $5,000 per annum in his previous correspondence.

When correspondence between George Ross and John Hallam resumed again in the documents, Hallam picked up on a previous request from George Ross asking that Hallam attend a national convention on Technical Education and how it related to commerce[39]. Hallam, in response, seemed hopeful that a national convention that indicated the benefits of technical education to the economy might secure federal funds. Hallam even offered to move a resolution at the convention that requested federal funding for technical education. Although no federal funding was promised at the meeting, a firm grant amount was announced by the province.

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[38]*Government Grant.* The Evening Star (Last Edition). Monday May 29, 1899, 1.

[39]John Hallam, RG2-42-0-6590, 1 - 57B - Technical. Ontario Archives. 1899.

On June 15, 1899 the provincial government publicly announced the specific annual grant amounts for technical schools. The annual amount announced was $3,000, with hope for it being raised to $4,000 in the event of spending over $100,000 for a school building[40]. In the paper the next day, the announcement was praised as a timely and effective reassurance for the city to go ahead. The article also commended the city for taking the first crucial steps toward establishing a permanent place for technical education, and to the province for supporting them along the way[41].

Ross did write to council personally on July 26, 1899[42]. Ross indicated in the beginning of his letter that he was writing because he understood from John Hallam that the council needed some assurance of aid from the government before they proceeded into any purchase or contract for a new building. Ross then commended the city and indicated what he did publicly on June 15, 1899. The council was told that the annual grant would be in the amount of $3,000. The annual grant however, did have ten conditions which were outlined as follows;

1) central location

2) no less than $100,000 spent

3) Day classes and night classes would be offered

4) Day class pupils must pass the entrance exam for high schools, or show

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[40] *Province Will Assign,* The Evening Star. Thursday June 15, 1899, 1.

[41] *The Technical School Grant,* The Evening Star. Friday June 16, 1899, 1.

[42] *Technical Education.* RG2-29-1-209. City of Toronto Archives.

that they have a good English education, and are at least 14 years of age

5) evening students be accepted regardless of age, sex, class or educational status

6) commercial, decorative drawing, mechanical arts and powers, chemistry, commercial arithmetic, and commercial geography with a focus on Canadian trading partners should be taught

7) training in tools and machinery

8) evening and day classes in domestic science

9) Only teachers of well known fitness be appointed to teach

10) classes be open to a reasonable number of pupils from every part of the province on payment of a moderate fee.

Figure 6: Photograph inside a Domestic Science Class at the Toronto Technical School, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 3036.

George Ross ended his letter by saying that it was not the intention that

this school be merely another trade school. It was the hope that this school would aid students in understanding the scientific principles underlying their respective trades. Ross stated that a knowledge of scientific principles was the "best way to get the most satisfactory result for both employer and employee[43]. The complete three-page letter, was published the next day in *The Star*[44]. The only critical commentary was that the conditions of the grant did not favour the teaching profession. The rest of the letter was received well, because it appeared to distinguish the Toronto Technical School from the purpose and function of high schools, and looked upon the technical school as more of a "finishing school for artisans". George Ross' comments were similar to the sentiments of the collegiate schools, because he acknowledged the unique and much needed services that the Toronto Technical School offered.

As the beginning of the school year approached, and with reassurance for a future grant, *The Star* gave the council another nudge to get down to the business of finding a permanent building for the technical school[45]. The article pointed out that money was no longer an issue, so the lack of any decision regarding the purchase of a new building must be due to inefficiency. Some sites had already been proposed by Alderman Hallam, and further suggestions were received by George Ross after conducting some research into the expenses of

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[43]Ibid.,.

[44]*Governmen t will aid.* The Evening Star (last edition). Friday July 28, 1899, 1.

[45]The Evening Star. September 26, 1899, 2.

technical education[46]. The correspondence between Toronto city council and George Ross began the process of determining what a suitable school was. Ross received report no.18 from council which included not only the plans for the new school, including day classes, but also the intention to propose a new by-law that would restructure the technical school board. On October 6, 1899, Ross was sent another letter to further determine maintenance costs, student fees, an outline of what a "proper technical school" is, and also to express some concerns on the board about having to teach commercial book keeping[47]. John Millar, the deputy minister of education, researched the expenses of technical schools in the United States and prepared some estimates for the technical school board. Millar replied to the written request by estimating expenses at $100,000 for a building, $16,000 for equipment, and $1,500 - $3,000 for an annual teacher salary[48]. The estimates were very similar to what the board had been told before. It seemed that the conditions set out by Ross were simply reiterating what was determined in the legislation in 1897. Nothing set in this legislation would clash with the previous municipal by-law either. The current efforts would expand the services, opening the door for new facilities and more services. In addition, the services offered in the high schools had made efforts to respect the school's position and purpose in the community. City Council appeared to want to change things as indicated in

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[46]*Site in College Street.* The Evening Star. September, 1899. (Date is damaged on the original paper).

[47]*City of Toronto: Report of Sub-committee.* Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-6591, I-57C-Technical. 1899.

[48]Ibid.,.

their letters to Ross. There were plans to make a new by-law which would be structured according to what was laid out in the conditions for funding, but there was also the added information that they would restructure the board. This had interested labour organizations worried. In light of the knowledge that there had been a few requests for representation from other labour organizations, there might be a worry that the restructuring was an attempt to further limit the representation of labour. An article in *The Star* stated that Alderman Lamb, who proposed the restructuring of the board, also expressed an interest in introducing a curriculum at the technical school that was more in line with manual training[49]. The scheme then, according to Labour, was to reduce the representation on the board that supported a technical curriculum, and then a manual training curriculum could be introduced more easily[50]. The City Council wanted changes to education in Toronto that would be more cost efficient, while labour representatives wanted an educational institution that would offer an improved quality of life to working class students as deemed appropriate by working class leaders in the community[51].

On July 27, 1899 the Toronto Trades and Labour Council presented a report to the council which indicated how they would like to see the structure of

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[49]*Lamb fires a blast.* The Evening Star. Wednesday June 14, 1899, 1.

[50]*What does labor say?* The Evening Star. Saturday June 24, 1899.

[51]Manual training was deemed by some labour representatives to be a threat to the working class because it did not promote "scientific" or theoretical knowledge of technology and the overall production process. Technical education curriculum was designed for the purpose of empowering workers with this knowledge as a way of preventing the skilled and semi-skilled workers from fitting into production line assembly that fragmented the process of production along with the knowledge and skills of workers.

the technical school board,

> *As the funds of the school must necessarily be largely derived from the municipality, the government of the school should be a board of trustees appointed by the municipality as follows; Board of Trade - 2, Manufacturers Association - 2, Stationary Engineers - 1, Architects Association - 1, Carpenters and Joiners Union - 1, Machinist Union - 1, Stone Cutters Union - 1, Civil Engineering Society - 1, Ontario Society of Artists - 1, National Council of Women - 2, City Council - 3. Those members of the Board representing the several trades must be members of the union and actively engaged in the trades they represent, and that the combined representatives of the several trades never exceed one third of the total board*[52].

A draft of the new by-law for technical education indicated how City Council would like to see the board restructured[53].The new board would have 5 representatives from city council, 3 representatives from the Trades and Labour Council, three members from the Canadian Manufacturers Association, 3 members from the Toronto Board of Trade. Alderman Lamb included this report when he wrote to Ross, who sent his approval when responding. With this kind of support it would be difficult to challenge the proposed changes to the technical school board. Labour organizations were given a voice in the press. On November 1, 1899, a full column on the front page of *The Star* was dedicated to how the proposed changes were received by different labour organizations[54]. All the leaders of organizations interviewed defended their need to be represented on

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[52]*Report of the Committee re: Technical Education.* Ontario Archives. RG 2-42-0-6568, 1-37-Technical. 1899.

[53]Minutes of Proceedings of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. January 23, 1899, 187, 494, by-law no.3614, report no.18.

[54]*They all want representation.* The Evening Star. Wednesday November 1, 1899, 1.

a technical school board. Several days later *The Star* reported exactly who on the council wanted the technical board changed and how they wanted it changed[55].

	Ross	Lamb	Associations	Sheppard
City Council	6	3	5	4
Manufacturers Association	2	3	3	2
Trades & Labour Council	3	2	6	3
Federated Council of Building Trades	0	2	2	2
Board of Trade	3	3	2	2
Stationary Engineers	0	1	2	1
Architectural Guild	0	1	3	1
Builder's Exchange	0	1	3	3
Mayor (ex-officio)	0	1	1	0
Total	14	17	27	17

Table 1: Opinions of Board Representation

This table displays the differences between different stakeholders. George Ross supported the idea that labour representation was not needed on the technical school board. Aldermen Lamb and Sheppard approved of representation from labour organizations. The labour organizations supported an increased representation on the technical school board. Alderman Sheppard's proposal was accepted in council and so the Trades and Labour Council representation was reduced by two members. The reduction was petitioned by numerous labour organizations with little effect. Nominations and elections for representation on the technical school board for the year 1900 were followed according to the new

[55] *The Board Altered.* The Evening Star. Friday November 10, 1899, 1.

board structure.

Representatives for city council on the technical school board included Alderman Urquhart, Hubbard, and Ward. F.B. Polson represented manufacturing, and J.O. Orr and R.J. Score represented educational interests[56]. There were some new faces on the board from council. Some familiar faces in education were still interested in making changes to the technical school board. Alderman Loudon, expressed his interest in integrating all of the school boards. On Monday January 7, 1900, Loudon gave notice that he would move that a commission be appointed to look into amalgamation with the high school boards[57]. Two days later a commission was put together consisting of "Alderman McMurrich, Loudon, and the Mayor to cooperate with the chairman of the high school board, and the chairman of the separate school board, inspectors Seath, Hughes, White, one from the university senate, one from the board of trade, one from the technical school board, and one from city council to report on the advisability of amalgamation"[58]. On January 11, 1900, two days after the amalgamation commission was set, another committee was established at the request of Alderman Spence and seconded by Alderman Frame to report on the constitution of the technical school board and to recommend any changes that they saw fit. The committee consisted of Aldermen Leslie, Loudon, Lamb, Hubbard, Woods,

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[56]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1900. 16-17, 23-25.

[57]*Two voted for salaries.* The Evening Star. Tuesday January 8, 1900, 8.

[58]*They found a way out.* The Evening Star. Wednesday January 9, 1900, 8.

Ward and Spence[59]. Alderman Lamb and Alderman Spence announced that agreeable terms had been met in regards to restructuring the new technical school board almost two weeks later. On January 25, 1900 Lamb and Spence proposed that the board be increased from 17 members to 20 members. This new board was to be composed as follows: city council 5, Trades and Labor Council 5, Stationary Engineers 1 (had 2), Architectural Guild 1 (had 2), Manufacturers Association 3 (had none[60]), Builders exchange 1 (had none), Federated Council of Building Trades 2 (had none), Board of Trade 2 (had none), Allied Printing Trades Council 1 (had none). Alderman Spence explained to council that this new composition would more fairly represent both employers and employees. The Mayor suggested that Alderman Spence consult with the technical school board committee, that he arrange to discuss any changes, and then report back to the board. The Mayor disapproved of two councillors meeting together and coming to agreement on changes after having struck a committee, not to mention that it was not usual practice anyway. After some debate about the procedures that Spence and Lamb followed, their idea was referred back to the committee[61]. In a review of recent tensions on city council, *The Star* suggested that the recent restructuring of the board had brought to light alliances between Alderman Lamb and the manufacturers on the technical school board, as well as alliances between

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[59]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1900. 35, 88.

[60]D.J. O'Donoghue wrote in to The Star and corrected this point a few weeks later listing all the representative of manufacturing since the board was established. *The Educated Mind.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday February 2, 1900.

[61]*One day's skirmishing at city hall.* The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday January 25,1900, 3.

Alderman Hubbard and Spence with The Trades and Labor Council[62]. Regardless of alliances, Spence and Lamb managed to settle tensions about restructuring the technical school board, and even though their methods were controversial, their idea was accepted by the board[63]. Now that the board restructuring had been settled, the path was cleared to draw up a new by-law to reflect the new structure of the technical school board, as well as the new conditions that had been laid out by George Ross for annual funding[64].

The new technical school board met to allocate specific responsibilities and positions of the members. Charles March served as Chair at the first meeting. Alderman Hubbard was elected as Vice-chair. School Management included D.J. O'Donoghue, L.J. Malone, R.Y. Ellis, A.F. Wickson and Alderman Urquhart. Board members in charge of property issues were J. Tweed, Alderman Hubbard, W.A. Langton, W. Henderson, and T. Cannon. Members in charge of printing and supplies included: R. Glockling, J. Wilson, Alderman Ward, W. Rowe and A.M. Wickens. Those in charge of school finances were: C. Moseley, F.B. Hayes, Alderman Leslie, J.D. Allan and Mayor MacDonald[65]. Mr. March called a meeting on February 26 to consider the estimates for the school year. As chair, Mr. March would also be participating in the amalgamation committee meetings. The lease of

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[62]*The Technical School.* The Evening Star. Tuesday January 23, 1900, 8.

[63]*Board Named for Technical School.* The Toronto Star. Tuesday January 30, 1900, 3.

[64]Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto. 1900. 70, 200. By-law no. 3772. Appendix B, 7.

[65]*The Technical School Board.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday February 16, 1900, 3.

the school from the university also had to be extended for the year. With all of the details of the board settled for the year it was time to get back to work on the most pressing issue, which was a permanent building for the school.

The last time the issue of a permanent home for the technical school was discussed, the board and council were waiting on the report from Mr. Fleming. The report was ready and Fleming had information about "dozens" of sites to consider for a technical school. After months of investigation, Fleming reported that one property in particular showed promise, the Athletic Club[66]. Fleming considered the Athletic Club the best investment in terms of location, cost and space. Recall that after the technical school board looked into properties, the Athletic Club was suggested but met with a great deal of resistance just months earlier. After hearing the report from Fleming, the property committee recommended that council purchase the Toronto Athletic Club[67]. The board of control was then instructed to hire an architect to assess how much it would cost to prepare the building for use as a technical school[68]. Once all the information was obtained the final report was presented to council for consideration[69]. Council, though, seemed to want to be very thorough in considering all the details before a purchase was made. Two days later, *The Star* reported that there was

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[66]*For a school of technology.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday May 5, 1900, 5.

[67]*Would buy the T.A.C.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday May 12, 1900, 2.

[68]*Price of site is eighty-thousand.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday May 26, 1900, 13.

[69]*Sent back the T.A.C. bargain.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday May 26, 12.

another interested party in the Athletic Club[70]. The following day, the information requested by council was in. The architect reported that the cost to prepare the athletic club for use as a technical school would be $16,000[71]. With all of the required information and some added pressure to act fast, it looked like the technical school was finally going to get their home. Some objections were raised by Alderman Robertson, who had issues with the estimated amount that was quoted for repairs and alterations, which conveniently was the same amount that council had to spend on the building. Regardless of the criticisms, the property committee continued with their recommendation to purchase the Athletic Club building[72]. Further accusations were made by Alderman Lamb about there having been a deal made to unload a useless building onto the city by a "ring and syndicate of men[73]" associated with the club. Lamb called for an investigation into the proposed purchase of the building. A county judge was asked to investigate the matter, but the purchase of the building would move ahead as planned, with the majority having confidence that there was no wrong doing in the purchase[74]. The recommendation to purchase the Athletic building officially passed council on

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[70]*Swagger uptown club.* The Toronto Daily Star. Monday May 28, 1900, 10.

[71]*Can be changed at a cost of $16,000.* The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday May 29, 1900, 2.

[72]*Chary of the T.A.C. Building.* The Toronto Daily Star. Wednesday, May 30, 1900, 3.

[73]This statement refers to D.J. O'Donoghue and the Trades and Labor Council. *Here ends this Inquiry.* The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday July 10, 1900, 3.

[74]*Will buy the building then investigate.* The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday June 10, 1900, 3.

Monday June 11, 1900[75]. The mayor held off finalizing the sale until the investigation was complete[76]. After the judge interviewed members of the property committee at length, no wrong doing was found[77]. The school would be ready in approximately one year.

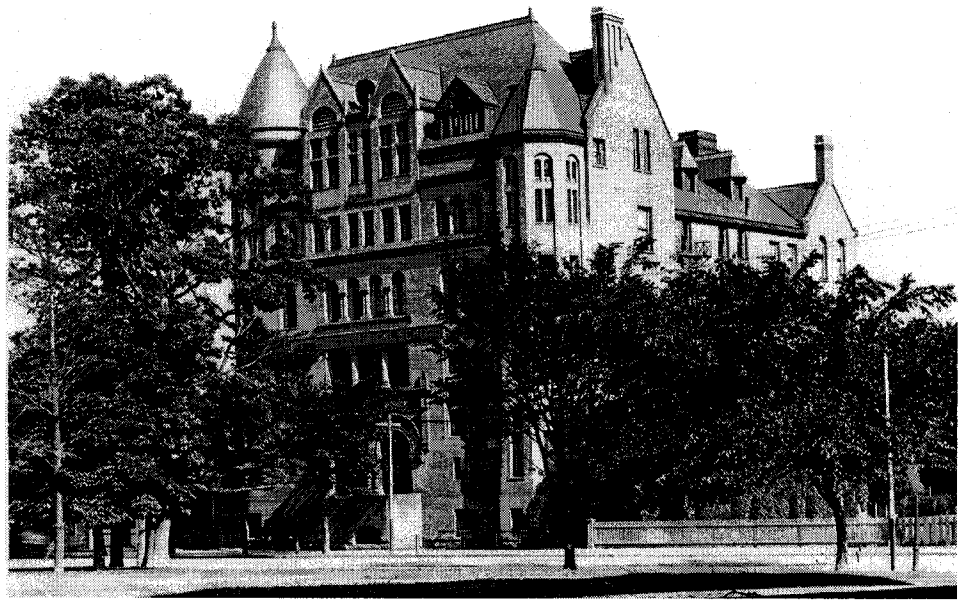

Figure 7: Photograph of the Toronto Technical School, Previously the Toronto Athletic Club, City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1568, Item 264

Summary: Divisions within the technical school board

In this chapter we see how the reactions of various stakeholders to the growing technical school, and its growing challenges and costs, represented different interests and levels of commitment to technical education. There was no

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[75] *Athletic Club site selected.* The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday June 12, 1900, 12.

[76] *Mayor holds up the T.A.C. check.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday June 22, 1900, 2.

[77] *Now Question of suitability.* The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday July 5, 1900, 1.

doubt that everyone on the technical school board wanted technical education, but as the technical school board became more demanding of the city's and councils resources, divisions between council, industry leaders, and labour began to show. According to the most recent legislative change, the city was expected to provide a permanent and adequate home for the technical school before the province released any grant money to the school. This put tremendous pressure on city council, and provided significant motivation for labour to continue to emphasize the need for this type of education. Labour interests also stressed their expertise in knowing what was adequate for the technical school, and that opinion and expertise was fully supported by the *Toronto Star*, adding additional pressure to council duties and expectations. During this time, one labour leader in particular demonstrated leadership in promoting technical education. D.J. O'Donoghue was a printer, but also very active in local politics. At the same time, the promoters of manual training in high schools became more vocal in curriculum reform efforts. Promoters like J.E. Farewell, through his paper entitled "technical education", help us to understand the unique position of labour and the Toronto Technical School. Those promoting manual education sought to include technical education in the collegiate schools for the purpose of promoting better economic conditions, as well as safer working conditions. D.J. O'Donoghue and other labour representatives were adamantly opposed to manual training, emphasizing that the primary focus and benefit of technical education should be with the improved quality of the working class through the knowledge of scientific principles. As manual training made headway in collegiate schools, and the costs and

challenges of the Toronto Technical School grew greater and greater, this philosophical principal would become the foundation for maintaining the technical school, above all else. Unfortunately, not everyone on the technical school board felt the same as the labour representatives. This struggle within the board led to a board restructuring that was an attempt to limit the power of labour representation regarding technical education. The internal struggles on the board also stalled any progress toward establishing a permanent home for the school, and hence receiving provincial government funding for the technical school.

CHAPTER FIVE: SCHOOL BOARD AMALGAMATION, 1901 - 1904

Amalgamation had been an issue for the technical school since it began in 1891. Now into the 20th century and almost a decade old, the issue of amalgamation was still present. It would seem that as long as there were labour representatives present on the board, the independence of the Toronto Technical School would be a priority. With labour present and involved in the school, there would always be a reminder to council, educational experts, and manufacturers that the high school represented middle class values. Labour representatives intended the Toronto Technical School to be a vehicle for upward mobility, with the inclusion of science. It was also important that the technical school be separate from the public system. To stakeholders with other priorities, the inclusion of technical education in the public school system would be a positive step toward efficient and democratic education. The voices for amalgamation were growing louder.

The Canadian Manufacturers Association published a document called, "A Memorandum Respecting Technical Education". In this document there were four general principles outlined. The first principle, was that technical and manual training classes should be an integral part of the public school system[1]. The intent of this document was to petition the government for a commission on technical education, and to inform the minister of education what the manufacturers needed from technical education.

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[1]Canadian Manufacturers Association. *Technical Schools no. 31.* 1901. Ontario Archives RG2-42-0-6562. MS 5676.

A school inspector, James Hughes, was also actively promoting the inclusion of a technical education system. Hughes also had several recommendations, which included manual training in "higher classes". The inclusion of manual training in higher grades would be offered in public schools under a single director of manual training[2].

Locally, amalgamation of school boards was becoming an option due to the increasing costs of the technical school. Over the previous few years, the increasing budget of the school had been a concern. The estimates for 1901 were one third greater than the previous year's estimates. Granted, the new school building had needed alterations, and classes were expanding. Even after the increased funding and a grant from the provincial government, the technical school was still reported to be in an unsatisfactory condition[3]. One solution to the problem was to charge a small fee for the day classes[4], but this did not fit into the original purpose and intention of the school. Other schools, too, were faced with rising costs such as the Ontario Central School of Art, whose budget in 1901 went up several hundred dollars. J.F. Ellis of the Technical School Board proposed amalgamation between the Toronto Technical School and the Ontario Central School of Art, but had great difficulty convincing other members of the board to

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[2] *An Inspector's Strong Report*. The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday January 12, 1901. p.1.

[3] *Technical School Board's Estimates for 1901*. The Toronto Daily Star. Friday March 22, 1901. p.5.

[4] *Day Classes with Fees*. The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday April 6, 1901. p.1.

even talk about the issue[5]. As small amalgamations like art and technology were being proposed, the public school curriculum was also expanding to include commercial courses[6]. Discussions were also taking place about restructuring the entire educational system to insure that there was continuity between common, technical and university curriculums. From a report in *The Star* it was apparent that municipal and provincial governments wanted the technical school to fit into the broader educational system, even if it remained a technical school. On the other hand, it seems as though amalgamation was happening in small steps, in an attempt to make education more streamlined and efficient.

One such small step toward change was a proposal by J.D. Allan, who represented the board of trade, to broaden the curriculum of the technical school to include commercial subjects such as stenography and book keeping[7]. While the topic of expanding the curriculum was being considered by council, The Canadian Manufacturers Association also appealed for more representation on the technical school board, which would equal more power to enact desired change. The manufacturers requested that city council increase their representation from two to five members[8]. Local labour organizations were quick to pick up on the changes being proposed by the Manufacturer's Association. In an article written in the *Toronto Star* column called "The Labor World," the following assessment of the

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[5]*Controllers Give Horse Show Grant.* The Toronto Daily Star. Wednesday April 24, 1901. p.2.

[6]*Business Courses in All the Schools.* The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday May 14, 1901. p.1.

[7]*May Teach Business.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday October 18, 1901. p.8.

[8]*They Want More Power.* The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday October 24, 1901. p.3.

situation was given,

> *The Trades Council has five representatives on the technical school board. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has two representatives on the same board. The Trades Council's five delegates represent a constituency of perhaps seven or eight thousand members of organized labor bodies. The manufacturers' two delegates represent one association of 273 members. The latter body of course represents vested interests in the form of a large amount of capital. In striking a basis for representation on the technical school board, the principle of property qualification was not taken into account. Does the Manufacturers' Association now wish to introduce that principle into the composition of the Technical School Board? Apparently so, for on no other principle can they be entitled to a larger representation on the board than they now have. If the principle is allowed, it is conceivable that it could be easily figured out that the Trades Council is strictly entitled to no representation on the board at all...already the principle of free tuition has been encroached upon...it will need the greatest possible vigilance on the part of organized labor to prevent the move from getting beyond their control. If it does, then good-bye to free tuition and the advantages which the young men and women of the working class now enjoy in the Toronto Technical School*[9].

When The Canadian Manufacturers' Association formally approached city council about increased representation on the technical school board, the reaction by individual labour organizations was to make formal requests for increased representation for each organization. The Metal Worker's Union also made a request for representation on the board[10]. Having the last say in all matters of the technical school, city council thought that the Technical School Board at 21 members was large enough, ending the debate of increased representation for any

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[9] *In the Labor World.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday October 26, 1901. p.15.

[10] *City Hall Jots*. The Toronto Daily Star. Friday December 13, 1901. p.8.

group[11]. City council also made another decision that would remind the technical school board of the power that the city council had over the school. The estimates for 1902 had increased as they had over the last few years, due to increased enrolment and expansion of programs to include day classes. This year's estimate would be challenged in council due to information presented by Alderman McMurrich, who claimed that 20% of the student population at the technical school was coming from outside of the city, costing the city "$10,148 to educate outsiders"[12]. This challenge to the school estimates set off a fierce debate between city council and the technical school board.

The first to react to the possible reduction in funding to the technical school was the Trades Council. An emergency meeting was called to discuss the board of control's decision to cut the estimates of the school by almost half. The meeting is described in the *Daily Star* as "intensely bitter against Alderman McMurrich", and the Trades Council will plan a "vigorous fight" against this attack, and for the continued existence of the school[13].

The school board sought out the support of William Pakenham, principal of The Technical School, who provided, in writing, an articulate comparison of school populations and funding in several other schools in the United States with the Toronto Technical School. The comparison revealed that the Toronto Technical

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[11] *Too Much Science.* The Toronto Daily Star. December 13, 1901. p.13.

[12] *Outsiders at the Technical School.* The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday April 10, 1902. p.1.

[13] *Trades Council Rushes to the Rescue.* The Toronto Daily Star. Wednesday April 30, 1902. p.1.

School had the highest enrolment and the third lowest amount of funding. The only schools that had lower funding than the Toronto Technical School were two small Mechanic's high schools in New Haven and Boston with enrolments of 343 and 390 students. The only school with a comparable student population was Rochester Technical School whose funding was $28,000, almost double the funding of the Toronto Technical School with 240 fewer students. According to the information provided by Pakenham, the city council had no cause to question the estimates of the school board when clearly the expenses were well below that of other schools with similar needs and curriculum. Pakenham also made comments about the well educated teaching staff, who were underpaid in comparison to their colleagues in collegiate institutes. Pakenham scolded city council in his letter for treating the school so harshly. Pakenham provided information about inadequate supplies and the need for a "physical Laboratory", said to be an essential part of other schools. It was not even present in the Toronto Technical School[14].

The city council, in light of this information, proposed to further cut teacher salaries by $2,000 in total. This was opposed by controllers McMurrich and Graham. It was then proposed by the mayor to make a reduction of the total estimates and let the school deal with how they would handle the decreased funding, which was carried. The mayor then promised to appeal to the provincial government for an increased grant for the school[15].

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[14] *William Pakenham: Report to the Toronto Technical School Board.* (May 7)1902.Ontario Archives. RG2-42-0-6563. MS 5676.

[15] *A Big Reduction for High Schools.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday May 9, 1902. p.2.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association also held a special meeting to discuss the decreased funding of the Technical School; then, it expressed strong disapproval of the action taken in council[16]. A deputation from The Canadian Manufacturers' Association was sent to meet with the board of control about the reduced funding[17]. At the next Technical School Board meeting the issue was also taken up, but no action was taken[18]. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association had made a decision to act, and at the next city council meeting presented a resolution that protested the "reductions made by the board of control in the estimates of the Technical School Board, and asked that the amounts struck off be restored"[19]. On May 31, it was reported in the Labour column of *The Star* that the funds would be restored to the technical school and in support of the restoration was Alderman McMurrich, who did not turn out to be such a villain after all, but the Mayor was being held in a negative light for being behind a scheme that would have "crippled the school"[20].

With the issue of decreased funding solved for the time being, city council once again turned to another subject of debate surrounding the Technical School - amalgamation. Alderman Spence made the following comments at a city council

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[16]*Favor Technical School.* The Toronto Daily Star. May 10, 1902. p.1.

[17]*Manufacturers' Protest.* The Toronto Daily Star. May 12, 1902. p.7.

[18]*Technical School Board.* The Toronto Daily Star. May 16, 1902. p.10.

[19]*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto.* (May 19)1902. 139, 306.

[20]*The Crisis of a Trades Union: Notice.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday May 31, 1902. p.3.

meeting on June 3, 1902:

> [The technical school which offered commercial courses] *and other courses...overlapped with the public and high school work. You will not have this matter properly adjusted until you have an amalgamation of the public, high and technical school boards...and when we eliminate the overlapping we will have a system that will drive out the commercial colleges and private schools and give the children of the citizens the education they demand. If we amalgamate these boards, as we should have done long ago, we would not be haggling here over a paltry $2,000, which would be a mere bagatelle compared with the saving we would make by such an amalgamation*[21].

These comments by Alderman Spence sparked a discussion in council that indicated the possible underlying issues of under funding from the provincial government. Several alderman suggested that the motives behind the provincial government not following through on the original amount of grants that were promised, was due to a desire to force amalgamation upon the city. The grant that was originally set for $3,000 was in reality only $1,000. Alderman Lynd defended the government by saying that the day classes were started in October, and no manual training was offered at the school and there the school fell short of the conditions of funding. Alderman Hubbard, who was familiar and sympathetic to the original purpose of the school and understood how the labour representatives felt about manual training, scolded Lynd and was quoted as saying, "for a large man he has crept through the smallest of holes I ever saw"[22]. From this excerpt it is clear that there was a division within council of members who saw the value in an

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[21] *A Long Session of City Council*. The Toronto Daily Star. Tuesday June 3, 1902. p.7.

[22] Ibid,.

independent, publicly funded, technical school, and those who saw it as a lack of efficiency in the broader picture of education.

A written appeal was sent to the provincial government on September 25, 1902 asking for the remains of the promised grant. A reply was sent the same day simply stating that there would be an inspector sent to the school, and after a report was received, the grant money would then be released[23]. On November 21, 1902 the board had apparently not yet received the grant and appealed to the board of control to help them obtain the money from the government[24]. It can be assumed from the subsequent communication between the technical school board and the minister of education, Richard Harcourt, that a reply to the request for more money included a suggestion to seek ways to save money through amalgamation that would stop any further duplication of services within the educational services in Toronto. The next document that was found was a report from William Pakenham, the principal of the technical school. The report summarizes a meeting between Pakenham and The Central School of Art and Design. The report states that 95% of the course offered at the art school were currently offered at the technical school. Also noted was Pakenham's knowledge that other technical schools had successfully offered courses that represented "high" art in addition to industrial art. Pakenham at this meeting also explained that the new facilities of the technical school had many benefits to offer, such as

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[23] *Technical Education 1901 - 1902.* Ontario Archives. RG2-29- 1. MS 2634.

[24] *A Deficit of $2,540.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday November 21, 1902. p.9.

location and free rent. The meeting ended with all directors of the art school unanimously opposed to the amalgamation. The reasons stated were as follows: loss of independence and honour, loss of artistic associations, and a loss of control from those in the art community who knew best how to run an art school[25]. The reasons provided were understood to many of the technical school board members, particularly those from the labour community, who began the technical school with similar ideals regarding the working class.

Other amalgamations were being discussed in council. The amalgamation of the public and high school boards was a topic in council during the year 1903. Various people seeking election to school councils mentioned amalgamation as a top priority if elected[26]. With the beginning of a new year and other amalgamations starting up, the opposition of the independent schools to amalgamation did not sit well, particularly when the time came to submit estimates for another year of education, given the rising costs experienced by the technical school. In addition, The Toronto Technical School still held a deficit from the previous year of under-funding by both the municipal and Ontario Governments. In preparation for the request for funding, the technical school board published a circular that summarized the costs of running the school, as well as the funding provided by the city and province. Also included in the circular were descriptions of the inadequate heating system, staff salaries in comparison with the collegiate salaries (which

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[25] *Ontario Society of Artists*. (December 4) 1902. Ontario Archives. RG2-42-0-3439. MS 5646.

[26] *Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto*. January 26, 1903. 29, 107-109.

showed that Toronto Technical School teacher salaries were on average considerably lower than their collegiate counterparts), enrolment statistics, student fees, and the current amount of the deficit. The circular's purpose was to justify and make public the estimates for 1903. The content of the circular was published in the *Daily Star*, making clear the estimates for 1903 were reasonable and justly needed[27]. At the next technical school board meeting, the board of control paid little attention to the needs of the school as outlined in the circular. Estimates in the year 1903 would have to consider the previous deficit, a need for three more teachers to reduce the ballooning class sizes, and desperately needed electrical equipment for a laboratory. Despite all of these factors being carefully presented, the board of control proposed a reduction in funding of $3,450. Needless to say, this sparked a heated argument between council and the technical school board which was outlined in the press the following day. The meeting ended with a deputation from the technical school board presenting their case to council at the next meeting[28].

Before the issue of funding could be dealt with in council, the Toronto Technical School Board apparently became aware of a Bill that was before the provincial legislature to amalgamate the school boards in Toronto. The Toronto Technical School Board quickly began planning a meeting with the premier of Ontario, George Ross. A letter was sent to Ross on May 22, 1903. First reading of

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[27] *Some Facts about Technical School.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday March 26, 1903. p.20.

[28] *Board of Control gets a Scorching.* The Toronto Daily Star. Friday March 20, 1903. p.4.

Bill 101 had already taken place a month earlier[29]. There were several petitions sent to Ross opposing the bill, including petitions from Toronto merchants, the Brick Layers Union, and the Allied Printing and Trades Council. The petitions were all dated well into May, after the process of amalgamation had already been set in motion. The issue of adequate funding now paled in comparison to what the Toronto Technical School now faced in the future. The labour representatives on the Toronto Technical School Board were about to lose their positions. Who would ensure that technical education served working class interests as was promised in the original efforts to open the Toronto Technical School? According to the dates on the petitions, the process of amalgamation was one step ahead of the labour interests who supported independent technical education for the working class. Once Bill 101 passed, The Toronto Technical School Board would no longer exist, curriculum would be determined by the province and the new school board, and any original purpose behind technical education that was passed by council in the form of by-laws would be null and void. It would seem that the only thing for the representatives from labour to do was to hope that the Toronto Technical School would survive the restructuring that inevitably did occur. Amidst the major changes that were occurring in the legislature, the business at the Toronto Technical School did continue.

The school year began as it always had in the fall, with reports of increased enrolment, and ceremonial opening of the school. All seemed to be as it always

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[29]*Toronto Technical School Board*. 1903. RG2-42-0-6594. MS 5676.

had in previous years, until December 24, 1903 when a letter from a grassroots public interest group calling themself the Citizen's Educational Committee was sent to the electors via the *Daily Star*. The letter reads as follows,

> *Fellow citizens - the election of the board of education on January 1, 1904 will be the most important event that has ever taken place in the educational affairs of our city. A radical departure is to be made in our system of school government, which may prove to be a blessing or the reverse to the highest interest of ourselves and our children, according to the wisdom with which we as voters meet the crisis. There is, moreover, little doubt that the experiment about to be tried in Toronto will, if successful, give form and direction to the future educational methods and systems of our whole province and country.*
>
> *By act of the legislature, the public, high, and technical school boards, aggregating sixty-seven members, representing various educational interests, are to be superceded by one small board with twelve members, elected by the city at large.*
>
> *The new board will have a charge of $2,000,000 worth of citizens property, the expenditure annually of nearly $700,000 of citizens' taxes, with the extraordinary power of unlimited increases, the education of 37,000 pupils and the work of over 700 teachers. It will have to provide in the public schools a sound primary education, and map out for the higher schools such commercial, technical, and classical courses as shall be adapted to the needs of this progressive community. Its duty will be to see that the fullest opportunity will be afforded to the child of the poorest equally with the child of the richest citizens of Toronto to obtain not only a thorough primary education but, an equally thorough one in these higher branches.*

The letter continues at length, for the said purpose of communicating the need to elect a responsible board, due to the great amount of responsibility that they would be charged with, financially and educationally. The letter also invited the public to make use of the newly formed Citizens' Education Committee, that had been formed in reaction to the proposed acts of the legislature to amalgamate the school boards, so that citizens might be informed about the issues and

platforms of all candidates for the public school board. The letter continued by outlining several potentially good candidates as recommended by the committee, one of whom was from the technical school board, J. Wilson Gray. The committee members were also named, and included J.D. Allan, and J.F. Ellis, both of whom were previous members of The Toronto Technical School Board[30]. Although no names from organized labour groups appeared in the membership listing for the Citizen's Education Committee, there were indications that labour representatives from the Toronto Technical School Board were making an effort to stay actively involved in local politics and education. An article in *The Star* four days later announced that John Tweed intended to run for city council, with several years on the technical school board to recommend him to citizens[31]. The reaction by board members to proposed amalgamation was obvious at this point, to remain as much a part of the Toronto Technical School as possible given the circumstances. The reaction also indicates that the coming year would find many of the long time supporters of the technical school still actively involved.

As it turned out, John Tweed was not elected to city council. J. Wilson Gray, J.D. Allan and J.F. Ellis did not sit on the board of education. There were however some familiar faces in the new board of education. According to an article in *The Star* that summarized the inaugural meeting that occurred days before amalgamation was to take place, included on the list of board members were John

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[30] *An Open Letter to the Electors*. The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday December 24, 1903. p.7.

[31] *Howland Would be Coaxed to Run for Mayor.* The Toronto Daily Star. December 28, 1903. p.9.

Shaw and James Simpson. John Shaw had served as the mayor of Toronto from 1897 to 1899, three formative years in the establishment of the Toronto Technical School. As mayor, Shaw would have sat on the technical school board for those three years, making him, at the very least, familiar with the issues surrounding technical education. James Simpson was a representative of the Trades and Labor Council for the Technical School Board from 1902 to 1903[32], in addition to having a reputation as a strong labour leader[33]. At the very least, the presence of these two men provided some assurance that there would be a voice for technical education that was familiar with earlier goals and challenges of technical education. The first action taken by the board was to investigate overlapping in the curriculum between schools. The principal of the technical school was asked to provide a report on the curriculum, as well as a complete staff list that included qualifications of the teachers[34]. According to the report there were two teachers who did not have professional standing but were later given legal certification by the province[35]. Regardless of the efforts made to recognize technical teachers as legitimate and qualified, it became obvious that the board of education did not see that same legitimacy. After amalgamation, staff salaries were an issue that was addressed. All staff salaries were raised except for the teachers at the collegiate

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[32]For a detailed description of how James Simpson goes on to establish himself as a prominent Toronto based politician, winning a seat on the board of control as a socialist candidate see: Homel, Gene H., "James Simpson and the Origins of Canadian Social Democracy". PhD Thesis (1978).

[33] *In The Labor World: Notes.* The Toronto Daily Star. Saturday February 18, 1902. p.2.

[34]*First Step by Board*. The Toronto Daily Star. Friday January 29, 1904. p. 8.

[35]*Toronto Technical School.* 1904. Ontario Archives. RG2-42-0-6538. MS 5675.

schools and technical school[36]. Several teachers from the technical school presented grievances to the school board about their low rate of pay[37]. Chairman Gooderham of the Board of Education proposed that a general adjustment should have been applied to teacher's pay rates[38]. Any action was deferred to a later meeting until information could be gathered, meaning the issue of teacher salaries would not be addressed until 1905. Why the staff of the technical school were not being paid at the same rate as other teachers in the school system, remains an unanswered question[39].

On a more positive note, members of the new board of education paid a visit to the technical school for the purpose of addressing some pressing repair issues, such as gas leaks, fencing and the installation of lockers[40]. The school would finally see some alterations to the building, which was for a long time known to be in disrepair, but lacked the funds to make changes.

For the remainder of the year, the loose strings of amalgamation were cleaned up. In response to a resolution made by The Board of Education in June, the province, on November 2, 1904 officially changed the name of the Toronto

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[36]*Boost Pay of School Staff.* The Toronto Daily Star. Thursday February 18, 1904. p.2.

[37]*Hard Nuts to Crack.* The Toronto Daily Star. Monday October 17, 1904. p.3.

[38]*Want Higher Pay.* The Toronto Star. Tuesday October 18, 1904. p.2.

[39]It could be that some of the technical teachers were in the process of being recognized by the province in terms of their qualifications, but the primary documents are unclear.

[40]*The Technical School.* The Toronto Star. Monday May 9, 1904. p.1

Technical School to, the Toronto Technical High School[41]. So it would seem that although the Toronto Technical High School would remain a unique school dedicated to technical education, it would also be under the jurisdiction of the public educational system.

Summary: Amalgamation of school boards and schools

In addition to promoting curriculum reforms in the collegiate schools, the manufacturers association also formally began to support the integration of technical education in the public school system. The ever increasing costs of running the Toronto Technical School also contributed to the debate about amalgamation of the Toronto Technical School with the public school system. At this point in time William Pakenham the principal of the Toronto Technical School, emerged as a force for maintaining a school dedicated to technical education. With experience and knowledge of technical schools in the United States, Pakenham becomes a valuable spokesperson for the Toronto Technical School. In the early spring of 1903, Bill 101 went before the provincial legislature. That ended the debate on amalgamation, by joining the public, high school and technical school boards. The change placed the Toronto Technical School within the realm of public high schools, but allowed it to remain a unique school that balanced technical and academic education. Labour representation continued on the Board of Education as indicated by the election of James Simpson. All of the educators at the technical school were recognized as qualified by the province. On

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[41] *Toronto Technical School.* 1904. Ontario Archives. RG2-42-0-6538. MS 5675.

November 2, 1904 the Toronto Technical School officially became a technical high school. The school functions to this day in Toronto, under the name of the Central Technical School. The Central Technical School still bears Toronto's coat of arms, a structural reminder of the civic roots of this unique educational establishment within the city of Toronto. It was also a factor which shaped our current provincial curriculum and educational structure.

Who benefits from the Toronto Technical School becoming a high school?

There were three groups of individuals who benefitted from the school boards being amalgamated, city council, local manufacturers, and students. The city saved time and money by amalgamating the school boards. Amalgamation resulted in a more efficient system due to less bureaucracy. The manufacturers of Toronto received employees with standardized skills on a province wide scale. They also relied less on having to train their own employees. Lastly, the citizens of Toronto, in particular students, received education that was more equally funded and families had a say in school representation through the voting process. What about working class citizens and students? Initially there was a fear that technical education would be coopted by middle class culture, if it were included in a larger school setting as merely a department, and be used to further degrade working class skills and knowledge with "manual training". It was thought at the time that unique technical schools would insure that the needs of working class students in a changing economy were met through the inclusion of science in the curriculum. The negative impact of mass production on assembly lines on workers, was already becoming evident.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The efforts to establish the Toronto Technical School had direct influence on legislation for technical education. The original purpose and intention of the Toronto Technical School was an effort to establish education for the working class that would be an accessible vehicle for upward mobility. Upward mobility was insured through the focus on science in the curriculum and strongly supported by the *Toronto Star*. The demands for efficiency and minimizing financial costs became a priority for the Toronto city council. As a result, the Toronto Technical School was integrated into the public school system, and it lost its unique vision and became part of the larger purpose and function of the public school system. The fact that the school was able to continue to exist as a unique technical school, and does to this day, suggests that part of that original vision lives on. This conclusion, drawing upon the previous literature, adds a new perspective to understanding the role of the Toronto Technical School in the development of technical education in Ontario.

Connections to Previous Research

Stamp's research in 1970 -1972 suggested that the Toronto Technical School met the needs of manufacturers and labourers, particularly due to the fact that the apprenticeship system was a fading reality as a result of increasing industrialization. Apprenticeship was ceasing to function as a method of education for workers in production and skilled trades and therefore had to be replaced. The current research would support this conclusion, but there is much more to the

story than simply concluding that formal technical education had an adaptive function in industrialized settings such as Toronto. From the beginning, there were supporters of the Toronto Technical School that promoted its inclusion into the public educational system based on efficiency and democratic principles.

Morrison's research in 1974 suggested that social reform influenced school reforms like industrial education and manual training for the purpose of social control. Morrison suggested that the Toronto Technical School was a direct reaction to middle class social reforms that included educating the working class. The Toronto Technical School, according to Morrison, was an attempt to place the control of working class education in the hands of the working class. The current research supports this view, but we are left wondering whether the amalgamation represented a struggle for power over education that was lost, or if there was a lasting effect by promoters of the Toronto Technical School that represented labour interests. According to Morrison's current day examples the answer is no; technical education has been used as a device for social control and continues to this day. The existence of individual technical schools is, in his view, a direct result of the Toronto Technical School and the legacy it has left behind. The use of technical education programs as a vehicle for social control is a direct result of the amalgamation of technical education into the public system, and even though individual schools still exist, they too serve the same purpose, due to a more fundamental change that occurred at the time of amalgamation. That underlying problem was a shift in power from individuals to education. The problem therefore comes when there is a lack of choice on the part of the student to participate in

technical education programs. This issue was addressed by Stamp in his subsequent research conducted in 1982.

Stamp conducted a critical analysis of educational reforms in the early 20th century and the influence they had on society that continues to this day. Stamp concluded that the educational reforms of the early 20th century amounted to a shift in power, a shift that afforded schools the power to determine the future options and opportunities of students. Both Morrison and Stamp raised valuable concerns about the use of power by educational bureaucracies and structures related to technical education. I would like to suggest that the labour promoters of the Toronto Technical School were already well aware of this power within education. Labour representatives, in the face of losing their own mode of education, the apprenticeship system, turned to formal educational structures not only to continue to pass on the skills and knowledge of the working class but also to revalue the skills and knowledge of the working class with the addition of science and formal qualifications. The labour representatives that promoted the Toronto Technical School knew the power of public education in serving middle class culture and values, and they wanted the same from technical education for the working class. A new vehicle was needed for transferring knowledge and skills, and one was chosen that had the power not only to transfer but also to enhance and revalue what was previously informal into a formal curriculum based in science and standardized qualifications. This decision and recognition was important in the context of increasing industrialization, which was viewed as a threat to the skilled trades and craftsmen. Technical education would ensure a

place for workers in the overall production process, not just in isolated, broken down parts of production. Later research on Domestic Science would struggle with the same question of the purpose and function underlying educational reforms directed specifically at girls.

Danylewycz, Fahimy-Eid, and Thivierge in 1984 questioned the purpose of domestic science programs, pointing out that there is some evidence to suggest that domestic science was a way to improve the quality of domestic servants, but it also contributed to the emergence of university programs geared to women, and helped to promote the professionalization of traditional female skills and knowledge. The overall conclusion was that domestic science merely served to loosen the restrictions placed on women in the workplace and in society, further enforcing gender stereotypes in the long run. This research, previously mentioned, is relevant to the current research in two ways. Not only did the Toronto Technical School offer domestic science classes from the beginning, but like technical education, the promoters of domestic science used science as a way to revalue something that was traditionally devalued. Again, this suggests that there was a more radical foundation underlying some educational reforms than previously thought. I do not think that it is a coincidence that the two groups behind social movements at the time, women and labour unions, were also behind the promotion of technical education. They knew that, just as collective organization afforded power in labour and social reform movements, so too did control of education. Not only were women and promoters of technical education looking to revalue traditional skills and knowledge, but these promotions also indicated an attempt to

revalue previously informal education and maintain control over standards and procedures. The power in education was already present prior to educational reforms of the early 20th century. That is why labour organizations and women groups sought out roles that would afford them a say in curriculum and functioning of the school.

Rafferty's research in 1995 stands in stark contrast to this conclusion. Rafferty concluded that the Toronto Technical School represented a kind of selling out of working class culture, as a price for the inclusion of science in technical education curriculum. As a legacy of the traditional and informal apprenticeship system, Rafferty concluded technical education that was based in science had been a detriment to the culture of the working class. I would like to suggest that Rafferty is correct in one respect, namely that education is a method of cultural transference, making it powerful, in particular, to a group of people who had already lost their method of cultural transference via the apprenticeship system. I would also like to go back to a point that Stamp made in his early research. The apprenticeship system was in decline, not due to new educational reforms, but rather from the changing nature of production in the workplace. The attempt to include science and formal training was a step taken after the apprenticeship system had already suffered irreversible damage due to economic changes. Early promoters of the Toronto Technical School, particularly labour organizations, wanted working class culture to survive these economic changes with independence and dignity. There was no fear of formal organization, which had proved to be valuable for positive social change rather than a detriment to

tradition. Further, maintenance of traditions could not take precedence in a context in which social change meant job security, workplace safety, and improved quality of life. The only tradition that was to be maintained was the value of the worker within a changing production process - a primary concern that was well addressed by the promoters of the Toronto Technical School.

Answers to the Central Questions of the Current Research

What factors influenced the establishment of a unique school dedicated to technical education in Toronto?

The factor that above all else influenced the establishment of a unique school dedicated to technical education was the desire to offer education that met the needs of the working class. This idea was supported by several members of city council, Premier George Ross, The Toronto Board of Trade, and various labour organizations. So it is evident that technical education was desired and needed. Even with a provincial grant and legislation that empowered the local library board to manage technical education, the technical committee that was appointed by council would not accept anything less than the type of education that was outlined. These grand plans were up to the standards of cities throughout the United States and Britain, but they were too much for the Mechanic's Institute. The City of Toronto was willing to provide five times that of the provincial grant. With strong encouragement from city council and accessibility to the Minister of education, the various supporters of technical education put all of the necessary ingredients in place to establish a unique school dedicated to technical education.

After the Toronto city council determined that the Mechanic's Institute was unable to offer technical education as outlined by the committee on technical education, two council members then entertained the idea of placing technical education in the hands of the public school board. This idea was protested by the Canadian Association of Stationary Engineers. Council was held to their promise of education specifically tailored to the needs of the working class. This meant a unique school dedicated to technical education. Once all supporters agreed that Toronto needed to establish a new school, George Ross was asked to enact provincial legislation that allowed them to establish a technical school. After some firm negotiating with Mayor Clarke and consultation with the Toronto Board of Trade, George Ross was willing to propose legislation, which was passed. The efforts of George Ross resulted in an amendment to the Municipal Act. Once legislation was in place, the city of Toronto established the Toronto Technical School, which began offering free evening classes.

In summary, there were three factors that influenced the establishment of the Toronto Technical School. First, the insistence on education that suited the needs of the working class by local labour organizations. Second, the ability to influence legislation that would provide municipalities with the power to establish technical schools and school boards at their own expense and control. Third, The Toronto Board of Trade also had direct influence with George Ross and supported the establishment of a technical school.

The first influence, the Toronto Trades and Labour Council, wanted to offer education for the working class that would support upward mobility. Their

motivations, however, seem to contrast with previous literature, which indicates that the Toronto Technical School was a reaction to the moralistic content of technical classes offered by Free Libraries, or Mechanic's Institutes[42]. The findings from the committee on technical education indicated that the Mechanic's Institute was the initial choice for offering technical classes. It was the Mechanic's Institute, however, that informed the committee on technical education that they were not equipped to offer classes as they were outlined by the committee. If the supporters of technical education were opposed to the Mechanic's Institute offering technical classes, then the institute would not have been approached by the committee to see if they could accommodate the classes outlined in the committee reports.

Regarding the second factor, city council and other organizations had access, due to their close proximity, to influence legislation. The current research offers new information about the Toronto Technical School. Toronto was not simply the first to utilize new legislation that allowed municipalities to establish technical schools[43]. Committee reports and letter correspondence between Mayor Clarke, and city solicitor C.R.W. Biggar with George Ross indicate that city council in Toronto had direct influence on provincial legislation after they had already determined the need for technical education and prepared the city bylaw in advance of provincial legislation.

The third factor mentioned as an influence was the Toronto Board of Trade.

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[42]See T.R. Morrison, 1974.

[43]See B. McEvoy, 1902.

As soon as George Ross was presented the information that Toronto was interested in offering technical education to its citizens, he immediately consulted the members of the Toronto Board of Trade. This fact establishes a basis from which to interpret future interactions between the Toronto Board of Trade and George Ross. Given the trust that George Ross obviously had with the Toronto Board of Trade, it can also be considered when analyzing later support that the Toronto Board of Trade had for amalgamation between the Toronto Technical School and public secondary schools. Although George Ross was willing to accommodate Toronto's request to start a technical school, he consulted the Toronto Board of Trade first.

How did the establishment of the Toronto Technical School impact the evolution of technical education in Ontario?

After the amalgamation of the public, high school, and technical school boards it could be interpreted that the dream of offering technical education to the working class within a working class environment was lost. I would like to propose that the continuation of individual technical schools within the public school system to this day is evidence of the influence that the Toronto Technical School has had on public secondary education.

Prior to the Toronto Technical School there were two voids in education, the declining apprenticeship system, and a lack of "practical" courses in the secondary system. Secondary school was limited to professional and university preparation. Even though elementary and university education had in many cases already expanded their curriculum to included manual training, commercial

courses, domestic science and practical science, the secondary curriculum remained intact. Although there is evidence to suggest that from the beginning, the Toronto Technical School was considered to be a testing ground for future changes to public education, it was not the intention of the various labour organizations and many city council members that first suggested that there was a need for technical education. From the outset, the purpose for establishing evening classes was to educate the "workman" with science. This was not only expressed verbally in council, but was also clearly stated in Report no. 21 of the special committee on education, which provided the framework for the city bylaw no. 2948 that established the Toronto Technical School. The city of Toronto took on sole responsibility for technical education in the early stages of the school because of earlier disagreements with George Ross over curriculum content. Early discussions with George Ross about the necessity for practical education indicate that this disagreement was not resolved, so Toronto was left to make their own choices about what was practical for its citizens, but the city had also taken on the responsibility for funding as stated in the Municipal Amendment Act, 1891. Gradually, however, support from the province was offered. At first George Ross, Minister of Education at this time, would attend opening and closing ceremonies at the school, giving addresses, and handing out prizes to students. Later, verbal promises were made to the school for conditional support that would supplement the support already provided by the city of Toronto. When the costs of maintaining, and controlling technical education outgrew the resources of the city, action was taken by the province to integrate the Toronto Technical School into

the existing secondary school system. The act of legislation which called for amalgamation was directed at amalgamating boards of education only, and stated that the legislation was to function with the previous act respecting technical schools, which allowed for both technical programs with secondary schools, and allowed for technical schools as well. Legislation therefore recognized the needs expressed by organized labour groups in Toronto, in 1891, again in 1897, and yet again in 1904. All legislation for technical education from 1891 to 1904 recognized that the original vision for technical education was intended to make education beyond elementary school appealing, useful, and accessible to the working class. The presence of schools that cater uniquely to technical education today are all rooted directly from the Toronto Technical School.

The significance of the origins of the Toronto Technical School is the direct influence it had on educational legislation, and the importance placed on not only offering technical education, but insuring that technical education would be offered in unique technical schools. This research indicates the positive intention behind schools that catered to the working class. Emphasis was placed on science and the need for a space that was for those individuals who would not otherwise attend a secondary school. It was assumed that not only did these schools not offer classes needed by the working class, but the schools themselves had class associations that limited their accessibility and perhaps even made them intimidating to working class students. This space carved out for individuals who would not otherwise attend secondary school was a bold move toward making education more accessible to all citizens, and thus less elitist. However, there is

evidence from the secondary sources on technical education that, regardless of the original intentions, technical education, particularly in technical schools, has been used to oppress rather than provide opportunity. The factors involved in how technical education is managed in local contexts is providing greater insight into the evolving uses and roles of technical schools. More research is needed to fully understand the conditions past and present that influence how technical schools function for the students that attend them.

Future Research

The possibilities and needs for future research regarding technical education in the province of Ontario are many. Establishing the specific factors that initiated this area of education in Ontario is only a beginning. There is a need to expand on the general historical understanding that currently exists in the literature, along with details now emerging from case studies. As differences and similarities emerge from case studies we can begin to direct our research focus on quantitative research that can be used to guide future decisions regarding technical education. The following ideas for future research would aid in achieving this goal of providing data for an area of education that has been criticized as being a tool for oppression and praised for being a model for educational opportunities for all.

Historical case studies of current technical programs within regular high schools, in comparison to technical schools within the same city, need to be conducted to further understand the development and uses of both technical

education settings. (Morrison; Smaller; Goodson and Dowbiggan's research would benefit from such information too!) How do the two populations of students differ? How many students from technical programs within regular high schools pursue post secondary technical studies compared to those students in technical high schools?

These case studies could also include data to illustrate if technical schools are in fact serving as a vehicle for upward mobility for working class students. Data could be generated to indicate how many students who are attending technical schools are graduating in comparison to the general high school population? How many students are pursuing Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology to continue study in a trade they were introduced to in a technical school? How do graduates of technical schools differ from their parents in terms of their careers and level of income?

Historical investigations of the presence of cadet corps in technical schools, and associations between funding and promotions of technical programs along with increased military funding, need to be better understood. Are there associations between technical education interests and militaristic competition with other countries? The results of this area of research would be helpful in understanding influences not yet explored in previous literature, and to test theories about creating and maintaining reserve armies for military labour.

Case studies of technical and vocational programs that have been implemented in Native communities could be conducted. These studies could be useful for comparisons of Native controlled schools and curriculums to non-native

controlled schools and curriculums. Are native communities who now control their own educational curriculum implementing technical education programs?

Future research could also focus on whether some educational settings are challenging the dichotomy of mind and body with regard to learning skills that have previously been categorized as academic or physical. Has research about multiple intelligence been used to challenge or reinforce the need for unique technical schools?

The main entrance of the Central Technical School with its municipal crest balanced by two figures, the workman and the academic, is a reminder of the difference that local efforts can make in shaping education. Many of the promoters of the Toronto Technical School believed in the power of both technical and academic study as positive influence on the lives of students not otherwise inclined to attend school. Are we living up to the original expectations set for the Toronto Technical School?

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APPENDIX A

TORONTO

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